CANADA'S HISTORY MAGAZINE

The Beaver

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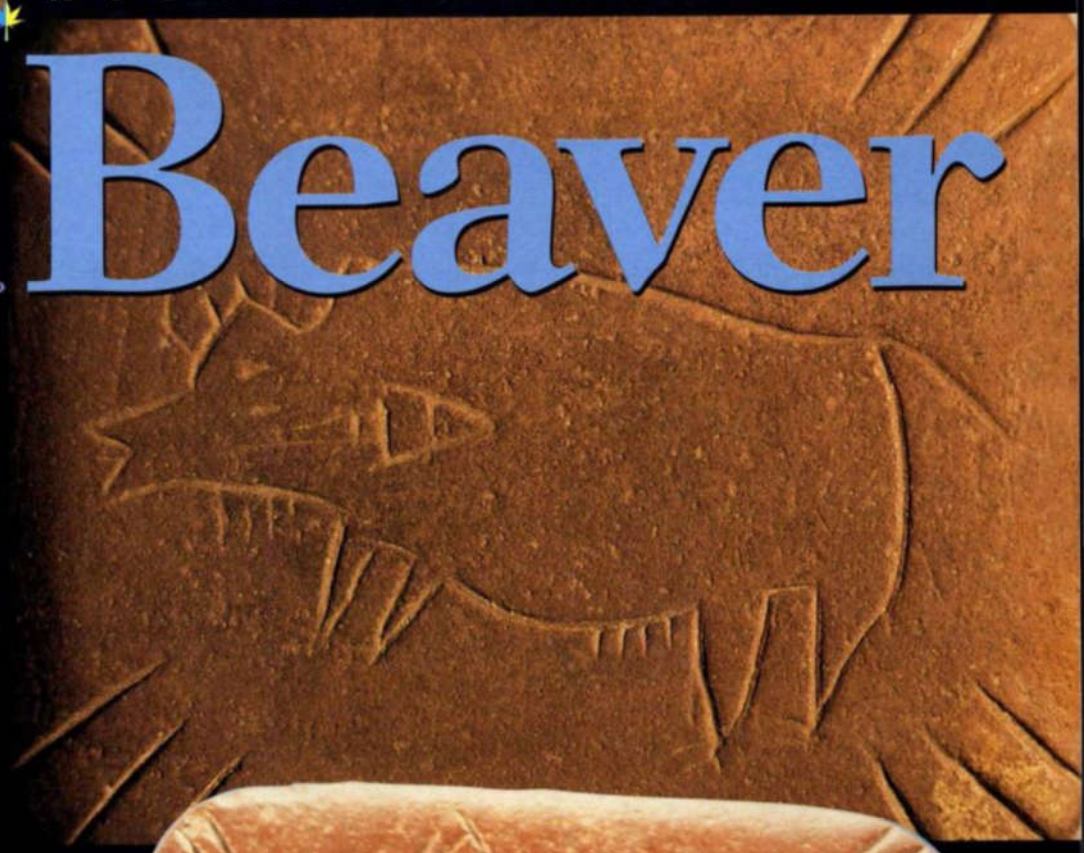


Painting the Great North

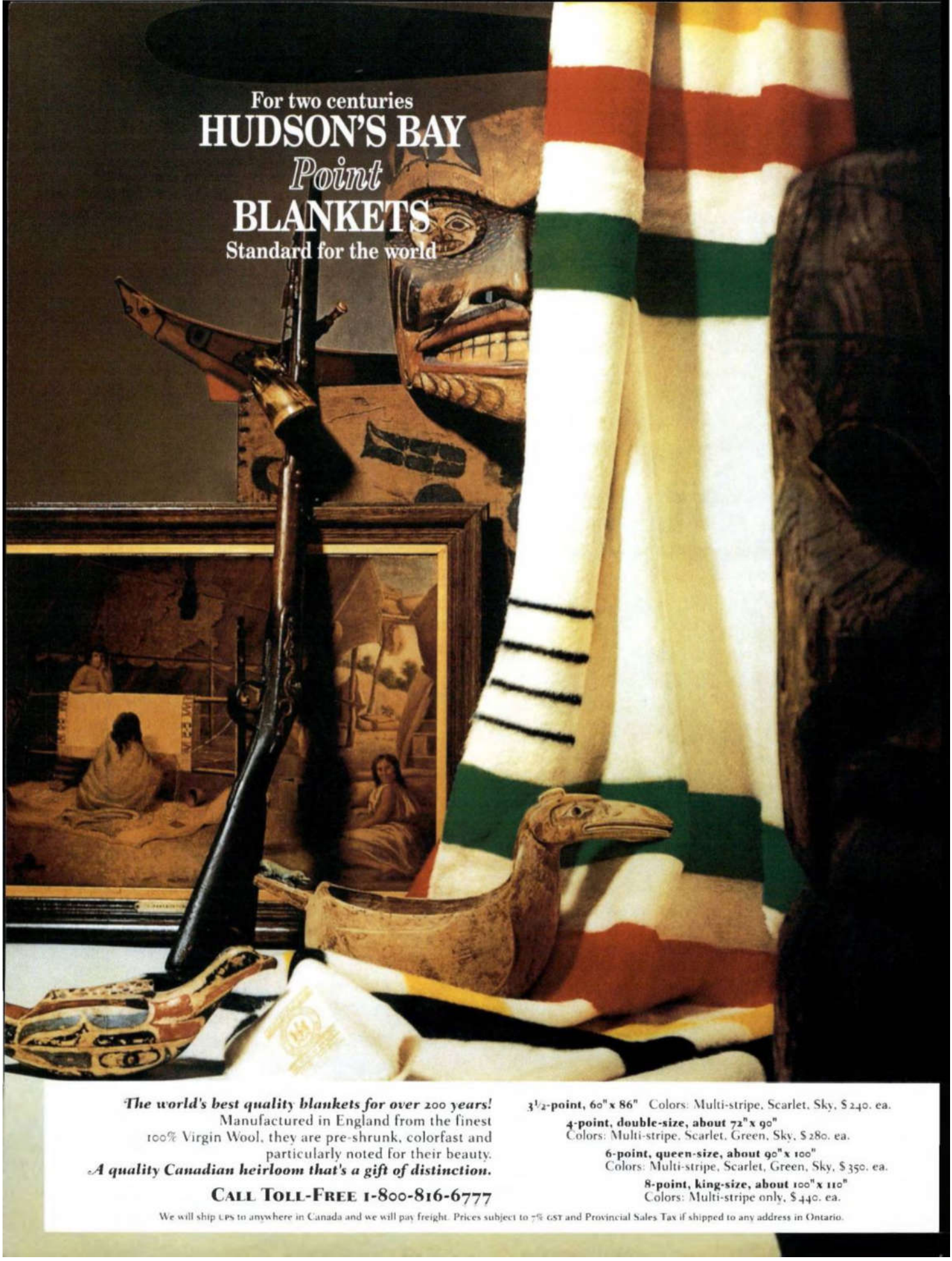
Wilderness Besieged

Marking Time:

Canada Y1K

1900

Apocalypse Then



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The Beaver

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On the cover: Incised catlinite tablets, traded into Manitoba from southwestern Minnesota, likely used in a ceremonial context by northwest Plains natives in the period between 800 and 1300. Courtesy Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature.

Letters

The *Beaver* welcomes readers' comments. E-mail us at <cnhs@historysociety.ca> or write to *The Beaver*, 478–167 Lombard Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, Canada R3B 0T6. Please include your address and daytime phone number. Letters may be edited for clarity or length.

More history in the classroom

As a soon-to-be history teacher I took the article "Revisiting the History Classroom" [Aug./Sept. 1999] very much to heart. Somehow over the past number of years, as Ken Osborne suggests, history has become an elective – something to fill in time whenever students are not in the "ever-important" math and science courses. We definitely need history to be brought back as a major component of our children's education.

Aside from history being taught by well-trained teachers as a course in itself, it should be taught right across the curriculum. It would be very easy to implement history into English, science, and other courses. This would accomplish the "knowledge" element and, as Osborne states, would make history a part of students' lives.

Michael Birch
Charlottetown, PEI

A scrivener on Scriven

Re: "A Prayer for Joseph Scriven", by Shane Peacock [Aug./Sept. 1999]: Several years ago I prepared a paper for the Peterborough Historical Society: "Connecting the names Pengelley, Roche, Brock and Scriven." I followed this with two books with an extensive family history for the Pengelleys and Roches.

It should be emphasized that at no time did Sir Isaac Brock have title to any land any place in Upper Canada before his death. So Peacock's statement that land was given to Pengelley's wife "through her uncle, the legendary Sir Isaac Brock" is not true.

Robert Pengelley's tomb was erected in the 1930s by the family who mistakenly put "Capt. R.L. Pengelley" on it. He was certainly on what is called the "Navy List," but a document I found hidden in the Pengelley home shows that Robert was promoted to the rank of Commander in 1874 just a year before he died, and did not go on up the list to the rank of Captain. The second error on that tombstone is the name shown for his second wife. Her full name was Lydia Eliza Emily Roche. She was not known as Lydia, but rather as Emily.

Now to Scriven's third love. The girl's name was properly Catherine Eliza Roche (not Elizabeth) – the Eliza on her birth certificate coming from her Aunt Pengelley. Take a good look at the photograph of her. The poor girl had consumption at the time and the dunking in ice-cold Rice Lake in April 1860 for her baptism was the final nail in the coffin.

Much has been hypothesized about Scriven's death. There is no doubt that Scriven had an internal ailment, quite probably what we today would call cancer. He was known to have taken alcohol to ease the discomfort. It is generally accepted by those who have studied his life that he became inebriated purposely and fell into Sackville's Creek to die there. Peacock's suppositions and diatribe about the Kidd character are just that.

As to the poem-history: It starts out as Peacock has written, in Damascus. However it was finished long before Scriven came to Rice Lake.

Robert Bowley
Peterborough, Ontario

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ERRATUM

The western portion of the 1849 Nova Scotia pony express route, as illustrated in the map in "All the News That's Fit to Sprint" [page 28, Aug./Sept. 1999] is incorrectly indicated along the south side of the Annapolis Basin, ending in Digby. In fact, the pony express route travelled along the north side of the basin and terminated at Victoria Beach. The *Beaver* regrets the error.

Pen vs. sword

RE: "UPPER CANADA'S LAST DEADLY DUEL" [Aug./Sept. 1999]: Duelling provides a classic example of the effectiveness of the threat of a civil lawsuit governing the behaviours of some classes of society. Under the predecessor of the Ontario Fatal Accidents Act (in effect by 1848), an action could be brought against the principals, seconds, and abettors of a duel by the estate of the deceased for the widow, children, or parents of a person killed. Elimination of the practice of duelling, which the Star Chamber, criminal law, and church had been unable to stamp out in several hundreds of years, was accomplished almost overnight by the simple act of the legislature attacking the pockets of those involved. Suddenly, duelling was no longer fun, especially for the seconds and those who would encourage the principals to hazard their lives.

The pen is indeed mightier than the sword.

J. deP. Wright
Thunder Bay, Ontario

The truth is out there ...

THE CENTRAL THESIS of Carl Schuster's Henry Hudson article [Aug./Sept. 1999] seems to be that Hudson was looking for islands and a lagoon charted by some earlier visitor which, because of post-glacial rising of the land, were no longer islands but inland ridges. These islands are now the Sutton Ridges, which he says are 250 km inland. (Or is it the shore that has moved 250 km? The map you offer indicates the ridges something like 50 km inland from the present shore.)

Hold on a minute there. The geologists should have a pretty good idea by now when the Sutton Ridges were far enough offshore to be the kind of islands pictured on the old maps, but Schuster does not offer us that information. Until we know how long ago the earlier charter would have to have visited, it is pretty hard to form an opinion on whether his thesis holds any water. Hundreds of years, possibly. Thousands of years (the bay had to recede a long way) and we move into X-Files territory.

Michael Moore
Toronto

CARL SCHUSTER RESPONDS:

Timetables for the shoreline emergence of Hudson Bay remain inexact and geologists are chary of commitment to specific dates. One of the reasons is that carbon 14 dating is hampered in material that has gone from a riverine to saline environment over an unknown period of time. This leaves ample room for margin of error. I would welcome precise dates for the geohistory of the Sutton Ridges but so far I have found none.

Arrowheads reply

THE AVRO ARROW [Aug./Sept. 1999] was an advanced aircraft which could fly high and fast – nothing more. Its combat capability was zero because it had no armament and no electronic guidance system. These two vital components of a fighter aircraft have been consistently ignored by all the so-called experts who produce books, TV shows, etc. based mainly on myths.

Bill Corfield
London, Ontario

IN RESPONSE TO YOUR ARTICLE, "What Is It About the Avro Arrow?" I note the following. According to Jon McLin, author of *Canada's Changing Defense Policy, 1957–1963*, George Pearkes, then minister of national defence, usually:

> "upheld the Diefenbaker version [of the cancellation]. For example, when asked specifically if the Arrow cancellation had been based mainly on economic grounds, he [Pearkes] replied, 'I certainly would not say that.'"

Why would Pearkes and the government not use the cost argument if they were indeed concerned that continuing the Arrow program would wreak economic havoc on social programs?

I submit that one of the major reasons for the cancellation (as supported by archival records) was that the less expensive but unproven Bomarc missile was perceived to be as effective as the Arrow, against an alleged diminishing bomber threat. As is known today, the threat was not diminishing, the Bomarc was a dud, and American aircraft were purchased when the latter became less politically volatile to do so.

Palmiro Campagna, P.Eng
Author, Storms of Controversy:
The Secret Avro Arrow Files Revealed,
3Ed. Stoddart 1998
Gloucester, Ontario

I READ WITH INTEREST your recent article on the Avro Arrow and wish to comment on the glaring non-scquitur expressed by your author – namely that "historians" admittedly haven't done their homework but somehow got the story right anyway. This despite great efforts by Campagna (and others) to dig up the facts and present them; facts that often don't support what "those-that-got-it-right" have been touting.

Your article implies that conspiracy theorists are at work. Since when does seeking declassification of hitherto classified documents, or accessing previously unaccessed documents constitute the making of a conspiracy theory? I understand that Campagna has gone head-to-head with some of the best historians in the country, the difference being Campagna had the facts. Perhaps the "conspiracy theorists" are the very ones wagging the "conspiracy theory" finger.

Is this their last line of defence?

R. Brun del Re, P.Eng
Ottawa, Ontario

Leave it to beaver

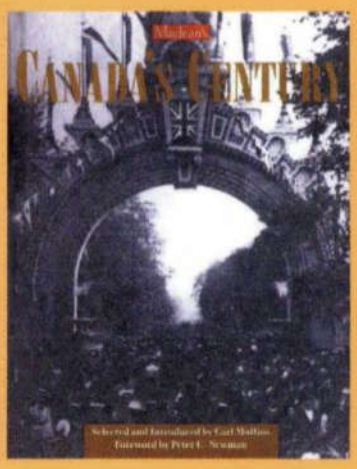
There can't be many countries in the world with a rodent as a national emblem. But then there can't be many countries that owe their commercial development, nay perhaps their very existence, to a rodent. Canada is just such a country. Early explorers braved the Atlantic in search of Cathay gold, and eventually figured out that the treasure of the northern New World was a peculiar sort of large rat with a funny flat tail, huge savage teeth, and a fur coat to die for. Europeans in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were nuts for fur hats, and the pelt of the beaver (the large rat in question) was the foundation of an entire fashion industry, which led to the incredibly lucrative trade in beaver pelts, which led to the founding of the Hudson's Bay Company, which eventually led ... well, you know the rest. At the start of the fur trade, an estimated six million beavers were nibbling trees and building dams in Canada. By the mid-nineteenth century, beavers were nearly extinct. Fortunately, Europeans decided silk hats were the thing, and the demand for beavers pelts disappeared. Yet who could not honour the rodent upon which so much wealth had been built? The HBC put the beaver on its coat of arms. Frontenac, governor of New France, suggested it for his colony's coat of arms. The beaver was put in the armorial bearings of the city of Montreal. In 1851, the beaver appeared for the first time on a Canadian postage stamp. But it took the Canadian parliament until March 24, 1975 for the beaver (*castor canadensis*) to attain official status as an emblem of Canada. This is a circuitous (albeit informative, we think) way of letting you know that this March, we celebrate the silver jubilee of the beaver, that intelligent, provident, and industrious rodent, as a symbol of Canada's sovereignty. Precisely how to celebrate this event remains a question, however. Stare at a nickel? Bite a tree? Give Canada's history magazine, coincidently called the *Beaver*, a gift? We leave it to your imagination.

Christmas wrap

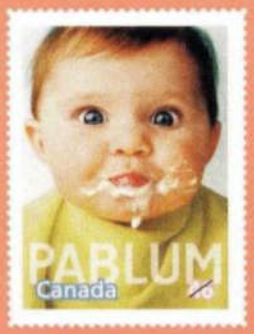
Has millennium-mania affected even as venerable an institution as the Hudson's Bay Company? Well, not quite. But on the eve of the year 2000, the 330-year old company has taken the radical step of – wait for it – *introducing new colours in its point blankets*. The blanket, first introduced in 1779 as a highly prized fur-trade good, has always been either scarlet, green, or blue, or white with green, red, yellow and blue stripes. (Okay, when King George VI was crowned in 1937, a limited edition in a new colour was offered, but we digress ...) Now, fashion mavens, just in time for Christmas shopping, those famous blankets are available in a more contemporary understated *chic*: charcoal gray with accenting black stripes, and off-white with stripes ranging from light taupe to chocolate brown. In addition to the blankets, the traditional wool coats as well as linens and bedding products will reflect the new colour selection. However, we're not sure if you can trade beaver pelts for one of them. Seems doubtful.

Stocking Stuffers

If there were no Christmas, would the coffee table book exist? One of the sweet mysteries of life, we opine. Nonetheless, at least two such dip'n'flip tomes with a Canadian history angle have rolled down the pike just in time to stretch those stockings hung on the mantle with care. *Maclean's*, which is only slightly older than the *Beaver*, has burrowed into its ninety-four-year-old clippings files to produce *Canada's Century* (Key Porter Books, $55), a 352-page compilation of greatest journalistic hits, grouped theme by theme (war, women, hockey, First Nations, Quebec, etc.) that celebrate Canada's metamorphosis from colonial status to nation deemed by the United Nations the best place on earth to live (and available this month through the Beaver Book Club). Meanwhile, the *Beaver*'s own columnist Christopher Moore teams with University of Toronto philosophy professor Mark Kingwell to write the text for *Canada: Our Century* (Doubleday, $50), a 512-page collection of photographs documenting decade by decade the most memorable moments of the last hundred years. (Both fine ideas, but we hasten to



Stamp out the millennium



Had enough already of the millennium? Of course, you haven't! After all, millennia only happen once every thousand years, and by the time the next millennium rolls around, you'll be gone. So kick back and, um, lick a stamp. That's right. A stamp. The post office is issuing its Millennium Collection, which, in its present form, consists of a swell ninety-four page limited-edition hardcover book containing sixty-eight specially-minted stamps that salute historically significant Canadian people, places, and experiences. There's Tom Longboat and Félix Leclerc and Lester Pearson, L'Anse aux Meadows and the Calgary Stampede, Cirque du Soleil and Hockey Night in Canada. We particularly like the messy baby (above). Pablum it says, and yes, pablum was invented by a Canadian, the many-named Theodore George Gustavus Harwood Drake, physician and historian, who kindly donated the royalties from the sale of the yummy infant food to Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children. If you're not up to shelling out $59.99 for the limited edition book (only 200,000 numbered copies produced), then in the new year you can purchase the stamps in standard souvenir sheet format at a lower cost.

The word "millennium" does not appear in this item

Can you trace your ancestry to Yorkshire, England? Did your many-times-great grandparents arrive in Nova Scotia (and part of what later became New Brunswick) between 1771 and 1776? Then you may want to direct your summer vacation plans toward Sackville, N.B. where the first-ever gathering of descendants of the original one thousand or so Yorkshire immigrants is scheduled for the week of August 3. Dubbed Yorkshire 2000, the event is part homecoming and part scholarly gabfest with attendant fun stuff (history reenactments, theatre, tours, etc.) all designed to give visitors (there are an estimated 75,000 descendants) a swell as well as an edifying time. More Yorkshire 2000 information is available at <**http://tapnet.tap.nb.ca/tht/york2000.html**>.

Ringing in the New Year

Once upon a time, clock towers in southern Ontario village post offices provided a type of aural backdrop to the rhythms of daily life, ringing out the hours and quarter-hours, but then midcentury in a fit of modernization the clocks were electrified and time could no longer be gleaned by ear. Kind of took some of the charm out of day-to-day existence, too, for those old enough to remember. In Elora, Ontario, however, just in the time for the new millennium, concerned citizens are bent on overturning the sound of silence and restoring its post office clock to full tintinnabulation. In a way. The clock's workings and its 360-kilogram bell will in fact be removed from the post office, the village's social centre since 1912, and installed in a new tower at the village's south entrance complete with street-level window to permit viewing of the clockworks. At midnight this December 31, if all goes well, the year 2000 will be greeted with a joyful noise, and Elora, already rated high for its stonework, mill, and dramatic gorge, will have one more reason to count its blessings.

point out that an examination of the century Sir Wilfrid Laurier said in 1904 would belong to Canada is not an exclusive idea. The February/March issue of the *Beaver* will assess Laurier's bold claim with incisive analyses of the century's doings by some of Canada's best minds. And all for a mere $6.)

In 1904, who stated, "The twentieth century belongs to Canada"?
What two French explorers appeared on a 1908 stamp?
Complete the title of the 1974 Paul
You're Havin' My
What Montreal hockey club with
NHL in 1958?

Meanwhile, 2,000 years of Canada, or at least the land mass we now know as Canada, receives, just in time for Christmas, treatment in updated versions of two oldies but goldies. *The Canadian Encyclopedia Year 2000 Edition*, as it's being billed, clocks in with the usual staggering amount of information, and – in a reversal that ye who are wedded to the printed page should appreciate – is being produced for the first time in more than a decade as a book. The 1988 print version was in four volumes. The 2000 version is in one volume – 2,640 pages. Cheap at $64.99. Or course, if you must, there are CD and DVD 2000 versions, too. Elsewhere, over in the history *lite* department, the All Canada Trivia Board Game, first released in 1997, returns with its $39.99 millennium edition, including a People of the Millennium category which, when you think about it, potentially includes just about every famous Canadian you'd care to name. "Who," asks one card, "stated 'The twentieth century belongs to Canada?'" The answer rests nineteen lines above.

The Bottom Line at Century End

Based on Canada's economic performance in the 1990s most Canadians must wonder what Sir Wilfrid Laurier was thinking when he predicted that the twentieth century would belong to Canada. But, in fact, if you look at the century as a whole, rather than from the short-term perspective of the last decade, Canada has had a remarkable run in the twentieth century.

No, Canada did not have the best economic record in the century. That honour undoubtedly belongs to Japan among the advanced capitalist countries, followed by oil-rich Norway. Indeed when the final numbers are in, Canada will have done well to stay ahead of countries such as Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland.

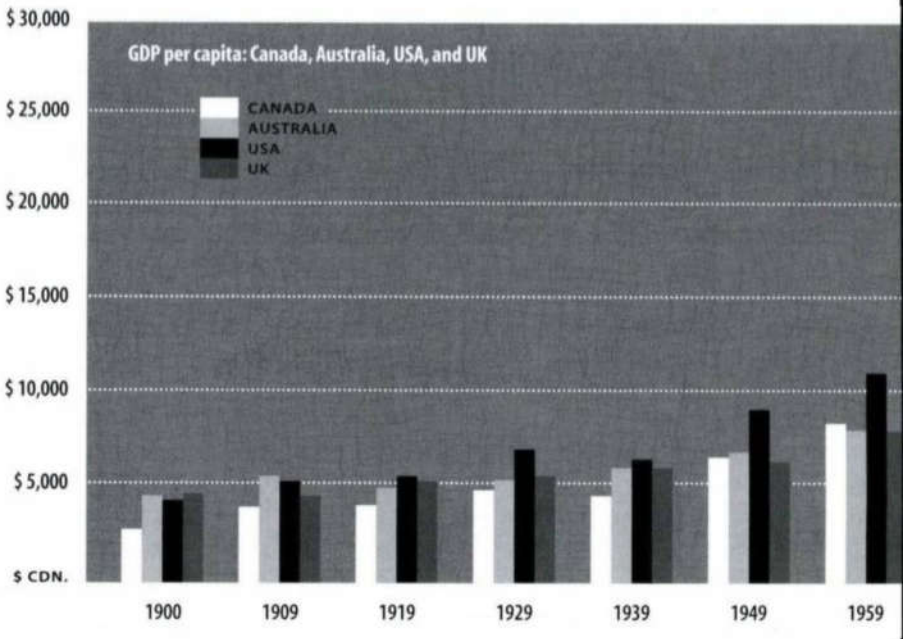
However we should not forget that 100 years ago Canada was on a par with Argentina and well behind Australia. We were also well behind the richest nation in the world, the United Kingdom, and only 70 per cent as wealthy as the United States. Today, nobody even thinks of Argentina and Canada as being comparable. We have surpassed, at least temporarily, both Australia and the United Kingdom, and while there is still a gap with the United States it has been reduced to 20 per cent from 30 per cent one hundred years ago.

(In defining economic performance we are using the single best measure—Gross Domestic Product per head rather than total GDP, which is like measuring the earnings of a company, without regard for the number of shares outstanding. GDP per head is comparable to earnings per share in that it measures what the average earnings are for each citizen in the country.)

In the context of the times, Laurier's bold prediction that the twentieth century belonged to Canada was perfectly understandable. From the time that he assumed office in 1896 until 1913, the year before the Great War, Canada's per capita GDP nearly doubled (compared to just over 50 per cent growth in the U.S. and Argentina and less than 40 per cent in Australia). For Canada, it was an unprecedented boom, unequalled before or since. No wonder Laurier was optimistic.

Canada entered the First World War full of confidence and the economy boomed. Unfortunately, after the war, the economy went into a sharp tailspin. Between 1917 and 1921 GDP per capita declined by 30 per cent, the second worst period of depression of the century, only exceeded by that of the early '30s. As a consequence, the second decade of the century turned out to be one of the worst decades in terms of economic performance in the century. Only the '30s and the '90s would prove to be worse.

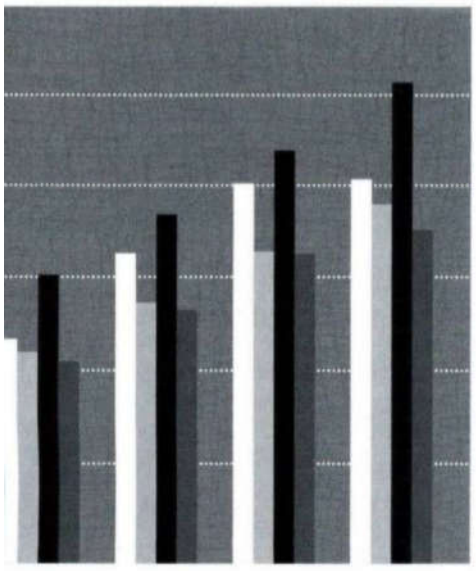
The '20s (along with the '50s and the '80s) posted average economic performance, though the decade began and ended badly. While the economy in the U.S. peaked in 1929, in Canada, the Depression started a year earlier. From



its peak in 1928 to the trough in 1933, GDP per capita in Canada declined by more than a third. The Great Depression, coupled with the post-First World War depression meant that in real terms average Canadians were no better off in 1933 than they had been thirty years earlier, *before* Laurier made his prediction about the twentieth century belonging to Canada.

The '30s were the worst of times in Canada, but they were quickly followed by the best of times, at least in economic terms. Although the economy peaked in 1944, and there was a modest adjustment after that, Canada had clearly learned not to repeat the mistakes that led to recession, unemployment, and labour unrest in the wake of the Great War. No other decade in the century would come close to matching the '40s, not even the peace-time boom years of the '60s and '70s, which posted year after year of economic growth.

As the century drew to a close the economy started to slow down – gradually in the '80s, more markedly in the '90s. The recession of the early '80s was the worst since the Great Depression. The recession of the early '90s was deeper and longer. Even with the improved performance at the end of the decade, the '90s will go down in history as the worst decade since the Great Depression in terms of GDP per capita.



How has Canada fared against other world economies? At the beginning of the century, Canada was compared to Argentina, and for the first two decades, there was little to choose between them in terms of GDP per capita. Only in the '20s did Canada start to pull ahead. By midcentury no serious person would mention the two countries in the same breath.

In 1900, on the other hand, Australia, with its great mineral and agricultural wealth, was one of the richest countries in the world. Per capita GDP was nearly 50 per cent greater than Canada's. From 1910 to 1948, however, Canada grew at a faster pace than Australia (with the exception of the '30s) and by the end of the Second World War equalled Australia's GDP per capita for the first time. The phenomenon was temporary. Australia pulled ahead of Canada again in 1948, but from 1950 to 1990, Canada's economic performance bettered Australia's. In the '90s, Australia has turned tables on Canada and has narrowed the gap between the two economies to 5 per cent in 1999 from 20 per cent in 1989.

When compared to the United Kingdom, however, Canada's economic achievement has been significant. In 1900, the U.K. was the world's richest nation in terms of GDP per capita – nearly 60 per cent greater than that of Canada. But while the first decade was a period of significant growth for Canada, Britain was in depression. Canada fared better than the U.K. in the '20s, too, (though worse in the 'teens and '30s) but in the 1940s – 1948, to be precise – Canada surged past Britain. With the exception of 1954 and 1960, Canada's GDP per capita until the 1980s was greater than Britain's. Only in the last two decades has Britain outperformed Canada – modestly in the '80s, more substantially in the '90s. Still, as we enter the twenty-first century, Canada can be proud that its citizens have a GDP per capita 15 per cent greater than that of the former mother country

Even compared to the U.S., Canada has an enviable record through the twentieth century – a fact lost sight of in the '90s when the American economy has performed so spectacularly. At the beginning of the century, GDP per capita in Canada was only 70 per cent of that in the U.S. But since the beginning of the century, the Canadian economy has outperformed the American economy in all but three decades (the 'teens, '30s, and '90s). By 1989 Canada had narrowed the GDP-per-capita gap between the two countries to just 10 per cent. Unfortunately in the '90s, Canada's position relative to the U.S. deteriorated and we leave the century with GDP per capita 80 per cent of America's – an improvement on 1899, but a decline from a decade ago.

Indeed, Canadians can be proud generally of their economic achievements in the twentieth century. The average Canadian today has seven times the GDP level of his counterpart a century ago. Argentina as a benchmark is long gone. As we enter the twenty-first century, our GDP per capita is higher than that of Australia and the U.K. and closer to that of the United States (although not as close as it was ten or twenty years ago).

In some ways Canadians are well placed for the highly competitive global economy of the next century. Canadians have always been conscious of the need to go beyond our own borders both for imports and exports. The world of the early twenty-first century, too, will demand greater use of the newest technologies. International studies show that only the United States and Japan spend more than Canada on a per capita basis on technology. This bodes well for the future.

There is one area of growing concern. In his famous 1904 speech, Laurier also stated that "For more than sixty years a current of population flowed from the north to the south, but now happily that has been stopped." Off and on over the intervening years the current has moved in both directions. As we enter the new century, however, it is flowing in the wrong direction, from Canada to the United States. This, unfortunately, does not bode well for the future.

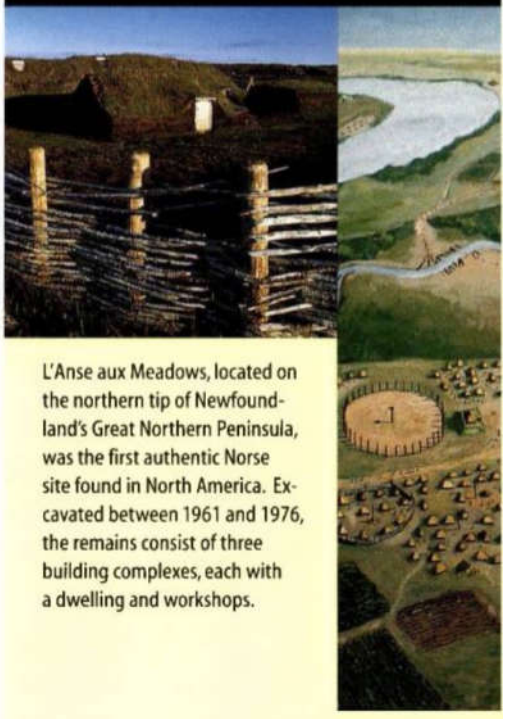
Joe Martin is executive-in-residence at the University of Toronto Rotman School of Management and chairman of Canada's National History Society.

IT'S NOT A PARTICULARLY SPECIAL DAY, MONTH, YEAR, century, epoch, or eon in the cosmos, but here on Earth, where life abounds, we like to invest certain dates with significance – all part of the human quest, it seems, to bring order out of chaos and try to make sense of an apparently indifferent universe. For instance, this month we find ourselves at the *fin* not only of a *siècle* but of a millennium, and if you are of a particular state of mind (apocalyptic or computer-obsessed, say), you might believe we are at the very end of time itself. But the occasion, this metaphysical bridge into the third millennium, rests solely on the decision of European civilization to mark time from the birth of Christ two thousand years ago. That the entire globe celebrates a year ending in three goose eggs is an indication only of European civilization's ability to extend its influence to the farthest reaches of the planet and make the Gregorian calendar the international standard for civil use. In some neighbourhoods, it's the year 5760 or 1419 or the Year of the Dragon – not particularly auspicious years.

Still, mark time we do. Indeed, in a history magazine, marking time is our vocation. Dates anchor every story. But like anchors, dates are only briefly noted before falling from view. In the three stories over the next twenty pages, however, time, in all its splendid Gregorian composition, leaps to the fore. Robert McGhee describes Canada in the year 1000 (when the region's inhabitants had never heard of the year 1000); Desmond Morton looks at the year 1900 (when Canada's inhabitants were keenly aware of a momentous turning); and Jan Noel examines some significant years in between (when a few Canadians marked time by predicting time's end).

At the turn of the last millennium, northern North America was the centre of the universe for its native inhabitants, a speck on the distant rim of the world for a few European adventurers. What was life like in Canada a thousand years ago?

Very different.



PARKS CANADA / J. STEVERS

L'Anse aux Meadows, located on the northern tip of Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula, was the first authentic Norse site found in North America. Excavated between 1961 and 1976, the remains consist of three building complexes, each with a dwelling and workshops.

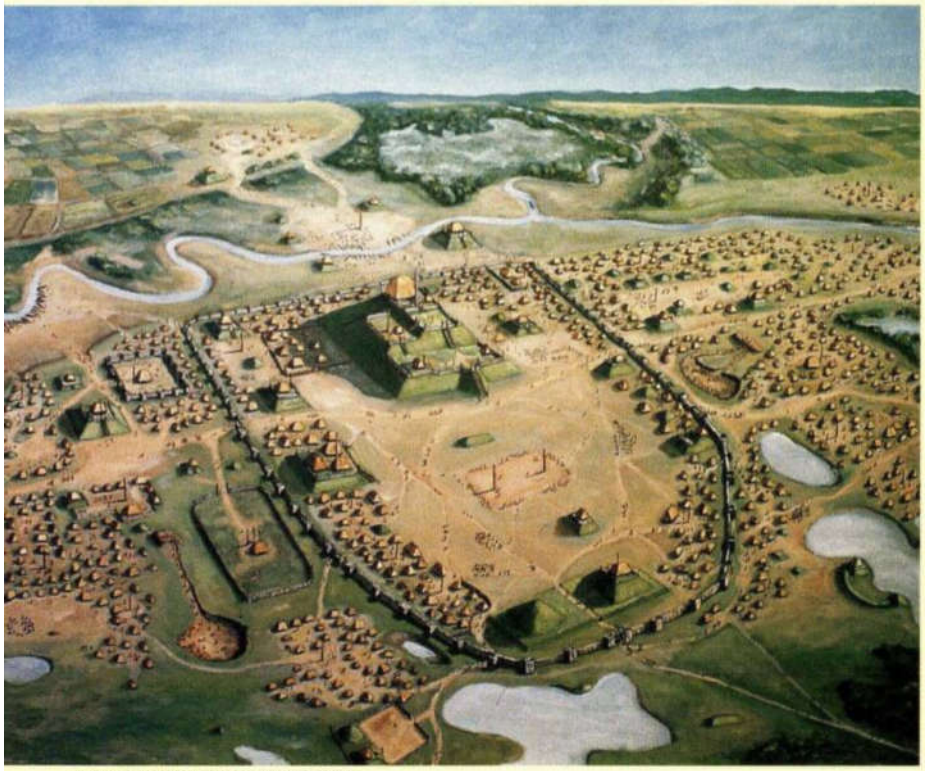
Canada Y1K: The First Millennium

by Robert McGhee

The dawning of the year A.D. 1000 was greeted in Europe and the countries surrounding the Mediterranean Sea with a mix of apprehension, hope, and joy. In the rest of the world, the new year was as significant as any of those that preceded it, but it did not mark the anniversary of a major historical event nor the anticipated beginning of a new era. The people of northern North America were a part of this larger world where the concerns and hopes for the coming year were those related to families, communities, and the environments in which they lived, rather than to a universal fate grounded in historical belief.

The faintest rumour of the millennium can have reached no farther than the eastern coast of the land that was later to become Canada. If the event was noted at all, it would only have been observed by a small group of Norse venturers exploring westwards from their newly settled community in Greenland. Such people must have felt themselves on the distant rim of a world that was centred in their northern European homelands. For the other peoples who occupied northern North America, however, this was not a marginal land but one that lay close to the centre of the world.

Aboriginal Canadians, like indigenous Europeans of a thousand years ago, saw their homelands as the most important of the world's regions. The peoples, environments, and histories of neighbouring territories were well known, but knowledge of countries and peoples dwindled quickly with distance. Yet the peoples of aboriginal Canada were not isolated from events, ideas, and materials that originated in distant places. These northerners were part of a hemisphere-wide civilization quite different from any of those that had developed in Europe, Asia, and



CAHOKIA MOUNDS STATE HISTORIC SITE / WILLIAM R. ISEMINGER

Cahokia, located on the flood plain near the confluence of the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, near present-day St. Louis, was in A.D. 1000 a sophisticated city-state with a culture echoing Mesoamerican civilization in Mexico and Central America. In turn, Mississippian culture, religion, and artistic style spread its influence widely through central and eastern North America. Its agricultural advances, too, extended to ancient Canada, permitting corn to be grown for the first time in the lower Great Lakes region.

This painting features a three-kilometre-long stockade wall enclosing a central ceremonial district, with lakes and ponds formed in borrow pits where earth was dug to construct the mounds that served as bases for buildings for religious rites or residences of rulers or priests. Agricultural fields surround the city.

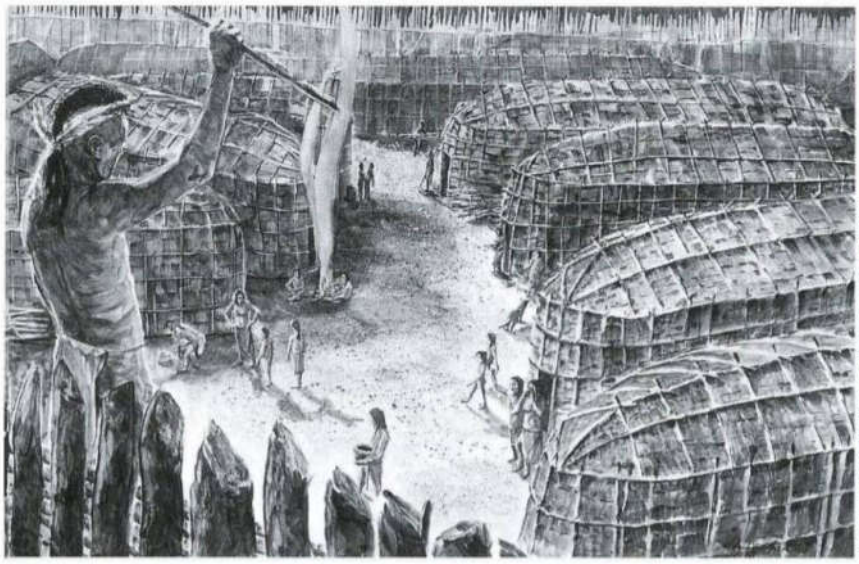
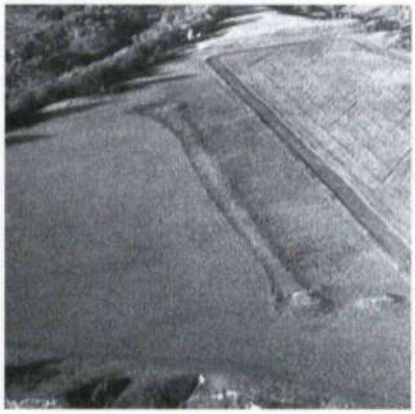


ILLUSTRATION BY GILLES ARCHAMBAULT / CANADIAN MUSEUM OF CIVILIZATION

Above: The longhouse of the agricultural Iroquois of southern Ontario was a communal dwelling, occupied by a group of six or eight families. The interior featured a number of bays (one per family), sleeping benches against the outside wall, and a wide corridor down the length of the building. Built of wooden posts and covered in bark, these longhouses were not substantial dwellings. After planting had exhausted the soil, the villagers would reconstruct their homes at a new site.



MANITOBA MUSEUM OF MAN AND NATURE / ACC. 1991-13-3

Right: Earthen mausoleums near Melita, in southwest Manitoba. Originally excavated at the beginning of the twentieth century, these built structures represent the farthest northwestern reach of the ideas of the Mississippian culture that dominated the American Midwest a thousand years ago.

Africa, one that had evolved its own technologies and theologies in essential isolation from the Eastern Hemisphere. Trade routes had for centuries carried both ideas and material goods across the continent, linking the peoples of the various regions of Canada to one another, as well as to the growing urban centres of the Mississippi Valley. Rumours of fabulous cities and empires in the far distant south, or of occasional visits by strangers to the Atlantic and Pacific coasts, must have spread throughout the continent and added vague and distant dimensions to the world.

What was it like to live in northern North America a thousand years ago? The lives led by people at that time were not merely prehistoric versions of the traditional ways of life followed over the past five centuries, as described in oral histories and written historical records. Native North American cultures were not fixed in ancient traditions, any more than were those of Old World peoples, and were remarkably flexible to change in response to new ideas or new circumstances. Over the past five hundred years the intrusion of European economic opportunities, displacements, and disease risks produced swift and drastic changes in most aboriginal ways of life. As a result, attempting to reconstruct life a millennium ago on the basis of what we know from three or four centuries ago is usually a very misleading procedure.

A time that lies some twenty generations in the past is beyond the reach of all but the vaguest and most metaphorical of oral traditions, which were the means of recording history for both aboriginal Canadian peoples and for the few Europeans who journeyed into the western Atlantic at the time. Any attempt to reconstruct the manner in which aboriginal Canadians lived a millennium ago must be based primarily on the evidence of archaeology, and archaeological history is of a different sort than that composed by the historians who work from oral or written sources. It lacks the precision that is provided by these sources, but on the other hand it surpasses historical records in the breadth of information that is available through interpreting the preserved remnants of human activity. Archaeologists cannot provide the names of individuals who lived a millennium ago, nor can they assign precise dates for events from the past. But they can reconstruct a picture of the activities and accomplishments of a particular community at a particular period in the past, a period that might be measured not in years but on the scale of a few generations.

The time around a thousand years ago was one of change in many parts of the New World. In what is now Central America, the splendid architecture of

the Mayans was sinking into the jungle, most of the magnificent stone cities broken and recently abandoned amidst dynastic wars, a depleted environment, or some compound of cultural and ecological stresses combined with bad historical luck. Power had shifted to the high plateaus, and particularly to the Valley of Mexico, which has been the focus of Mesoamerican culture for most of the past three thousand years. The great city of Teotihuacan, which would have rivalled Rome when the two centres were at their zeniths, was no longer the dominant political state of highland Mexico. In A.D. 1000 the Toltecs were the rulers of the highlands, having thirteen years previously conquered the last of the surviving Mayan centres. Other highland nations were evolving the particular combination of military, religious, and economic power that was to allow the development of extensive empires, culminating in that of the Aztecs, who encountered the Spaniards five centuries later.

The brilliance and power of Mexican civilization barely penetrated the great Sonoran Desert of northern Mexico, only occasionally impinging directly on the peoples of what is now the southwestern United States. Closer communications between Mexican and North American peoples seems to have occurred around the coast of the Gulf of Mexico, probably fuelled by extensive seaborne trade. Such a route would explain the significant similarities between prehistoric Mexican civilization and that which developed in the valley of the Mississippi and its tributaries in the centuries around A.D. 1000.

The Mississippian civilization of central North America was based on several agricultural crops, the most important of which were corn, beans, and various squashes and pumpkins. These crops had been domesticated thousands of years earlier in highland Mexico, and gradually adapted to more northerly climates. In the Mississippi Valley, cities as large as twenty thousand people were supported by surrounding agricultural populations. The arrangement of these cities around central ceremonial plazas and huge earth-mound pyramids was reminiscent of Mexican communities of the time, as was the elaborate iconography of artifacts related to religion and ceremonial activities. Mississippian city-states were probably ruled by a small class of noble lineages, supported by a warrior class, and provided for by the mass of commoners and slaves. Elements of such a political organization continued among the native Americans of the American southeast until their societies were disrupted by European contact.

It was through the Mississippian states that knowledge of Mesoamerican religions, cultures, and technologies reached the people of ancient Canada. In the way that medieval Europeans thought of Jerusalem as the city marking the world's central focus, many aboriginal people of northern North America probably ascribed a similar status to Cahokia, the city that began to flourish about a thousand years ago near the current site of St. Louis. With an area of fifteen square kilometres and an estimated population of twenty thousand people at the height of its power, Cahokia was centred on a vast plaza featuring markets, a circle of forty-eight huge wooden pillars (which was probably used as an astronomical observatory), and numerous temple-capped ceremonial mounds, including one that was larger than any of the pyramids of Mexico or Egypt. Although Cahokia's political dominance extended only over a region in the central Mississippi Valley, the influence of its culture, religion, and artistic style spread widely through central and eastern North America.

When the city of Cahokia was founded, the Mississippi and Ohio valleys had for over a thousand years been the economic and religious centre of northern North America. Burial mounds modelled after those of the Ohio Valley, and containing artifacts imported directly from that area, had been built from Ontario to New Brunswick. The northward diffusion of theological concepts and religious ceremonial was accompanied by more worldly inventions, most importantly the agricultural crops with which the Mississippi Valley people had experimented for centuries. By A.D. 1000 the most important of these crops, the corn variety known as Northern Flint, had been adapted to a growing season of 140 frost-free days, which allowed it to be grown as far north as the lower Great Lakes. On the fertile lands surrounding Lakes Erie and Ontario, small communities were now supporting themselves primarily by agriculture.

A traveller through what is now southern Quebec and Ontario in A.D. 1000 would have encountered three groups of farming communities: one in the upper St. Lawrence Valley between the Ottawa River and Lake Ontario; the second along the northern shore of Lake Ontario, on either side of the current site of Toronto; and the third above the Niagara Escarpment in the broad peninsula between Lakes Erie and Huron. These groups shared a way of life that can be traced directly through time to the Iroquoian peoples of later centuries. Their communities occupied villages consisting of several large elongated structures built of wooden posts and covered in bark, with heat provided by a series of open hearths down the centre of the structure. In the Iroquoian pattern, each of these houses would have been occupied by a group of six or eight families who were related through the female line – the families of a woman and her daughters, or of a group of sisters and cousins. This lineage group would have been the primary social unit, working together in the fields and speaking with one voice in matters concerning the community and their relationships with other communities. The village was surrounded by a strong palisade of upright posts, beyond which were fields of corn and squash with smaller plots of tobacco and other plants of more local origin. While the women worked the fields, parties of men travelled

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away from the village to supplement their diet with fish, deer, wild turkeys, passenger pigeons, and other game. In the manner of early forest agriculturalists around the world, people cleared the fields by killing the massive trees of first-growth forests by cutting a ring in their bark, then burning the underbrush and planting crops in the rich forest soil among the dead standing trees. After about twenty years of such usage the soil would have been exhausted, weeds become increasingly troublesome, and firewood provided by limbs dropping from dead trees would have become scarce. After clearing new land a few kilometres from the old location, the village was moved and rebuilt at its new site while maintaining the community's social and political identity. On such an occasion the skeletons of people who had died and been buried in the vicinity of the old village were reburied in a common grave, a symbol of the close ties that united all members of the community.

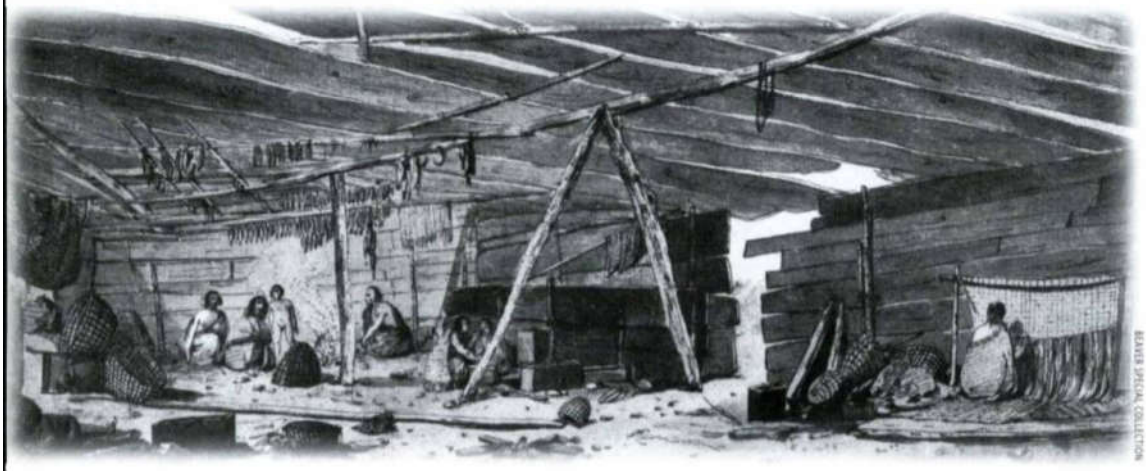
Over the following five centuries, the descendants of these early farmers would acquire other crops, most importantly protein-rich beans, which allowed them to build denser populations living in larger towns. Communications and relations between these towns became increasingly complex, leading to the major political alliances that marked Iroquois society at the time when Europeans first began to penetrate their country. There is little doubt that the seeds of these political accomplishments were developing in the mosaic of small agricultural communities that lay scattered through the forests of southern Ontario and Quebec a millennium ago.

The influence of the Mississippi Valley civilization penetrated other regions of what is now Canada. The prairies of southern Manitoba and Saskatchewan were home to numerous small groups of hunting peoples who lived from the buffalo, as well as to varying degrees on the animal and plant resources of nearby forest areas. Before the introduction of the horse, which vastly increased the mobility and economic efficiency of northern Plains hunters, the peoples of the grasslands lived in smaller and more isolated bands than the large communities known from the historic period. Buffalo were hunted by stalking on foot with bow and arrows, by driving the herds into ambushes or sturdy wooden pounds, or into the deep snow of winter gulleys. Travel was by foot, or occasionally by raft and canoe, with dogs carrying packs or drawing small *travois* fashioned from the poles of tipis. Over the centuries or millennia during which these peoples' ancestors had occupied the northern Plains, they had learned to live successfully and with relative security in a harsh land with limited resources other than the supremely important buffalo.

By about a thousand years ago, however, new products and new ideas were reaching the area from the south. The most impressive evidence of such ideas lies in the valley of the Souris River, in the form of immense elongated burial mounds up to two hundred metres in length. The articles included with burials in these structures indicate that the people of the northern prairies were involved in a major trading network that spanned much of the continent. Through this network they obtained dentalium shell from the Pacific Coast, conch shell from the Gulf of Mexico, obsidian from the Yellowstone region of Wyoming, red pipestone from Minnesota, and native copper from the mines on the southern shore of Lake Superior. These exotic materials must have travelled in the context of ideas that gave them value, and their frequent inclusion with burials in massive mounds suggests that these ideas included theological beliefs and religious rituals. There is little doubt that the centre of this far-flung network of exchange lay in the Mississippian cities to the south. The appearance of corn in prairie archaeological sites of the period suggest direct contact. It is possible that some local groups were attempting to grow corn and other crops, but more likely that small amounts of corn were being traded northwards from the farming peoples who were establishing their settlements in the valley of the Missouri River.

A carved comb and a drinking tube made of bone. The presence of such prestige items in some burial sites along the Fraser River indicates individuals in the aboriginal cultures of the B.C. Interior had different access to wealth.

We must speculate on what prairie peoples traded southwards in return for these goods, but similar trade in the historic period suggests that buffalo hides were an important commodity, as well as feathers, porcupine quills, red-ochre paint, and other local products that would have been valued in communities lacking access to such materials. The Mississippian exchange network extended westward to the mountains and was probably significant to peoples as distant as the buffalo hunters of the high Plains and foothills. It has



BEAVER SPECIAL COLLECTION

Left: Nootka dwellings at the time of contact with James Cook's expedition of 1778. Archaeologists and ethnologists contend that the scenes depicted by John Webber, the artist who chronicled Cook's last expedition, are much as they would have been seven hundred years earlier. Accomplished woodworkers, the Nootka built low-pitched, gable-ended rectangular structures with massive cedar posts and beams, intended for communal living with multiple families. Because the Pacific coast environment was abundant, the Nootka could make their dwellings permanent.

even been suggested that some of the major buffalo-jump sites along the western edge of the Plains, where massive numbers of animals were killed and processed, may have been industrial concerns operated in order to produce buffalo robes and dried pemmican to trade southwards to the Missouri and Mississippi valleys.

The culture of the northern grassland peoples had evolved over many centuries of adaptation. However, the way in which their descendants in later centuries saw the world and organized their religious beliefs appears to have been strongly influenced by ideas introduced through the contacts that began about a thousand years ago, with the agricultural peoples of what is now the American Midwest. The sun dance ritual, tobacco ceremonialism, and other basic elements of the religion of Plains peoples seem to be rooted in the beliefs that were developed among the civilizations centred on the Mississippi Valley.

Crossing the mountains, travellers of the period would have found themselves in a very different cultural world. We know that travellers did make this journey on occasion, carrying the dentalium shell beads, jadelike green nephrite, and shiny black argillite, which was valued by the peoples of the western Plains. Buffalo hides may have been carried westward in return, but there is little evidence that other materials or cultural influences penetrated a region where life focused on the Pacific Coast, the interior rivers, and on the salmon that were central to most economic adaptations.

The interior of aboriginal British Columbia was focused on the Fraser River, which flows for a thousand kilometres from the northern forests through the semidesert plateau, before breaking free of the mountains and meandering through the Lower Mainland. Each year the Fraser draws great shoals of spawning salmon deep into the Interior, and provides ideal conditions for fishermen with spears, traps, and nets waiting at the narrow canyons that funnel the fish to within human reach. The hot summer sunlight and dry air of the Interior also provides ideal conditions for preserving salmon for storage or for trade, and it is not surprising that people have lived from this resource for several millennia. A traveller of a thousand years ago may have found the banks of the Fraser much more heavily populated than it has been for the past few centuries. Permanent villages of five hundred or more people were found at numerous places that gave access to good salmon fishing, and the organization of such communities must have been more complex than the traveller would have seen among the bands of buffalo-hunting peoples east of the mountains. Salmon was the mainstay of such communities, but various upland root crops were gathered in sizable amounts and processed in stone ovens found in each village. It has been suggested that these people may have provided extensive care for local patches of root crops, practising a form of incipient agriculture.

Both salmon fishing sites and upland crop fields may have been the property of individual family lineages. These large family groups occupied permanent pit-house structures up to twenty metres in diameter, excavated into the dry soil for insulation, and covered with a heavy log roof with a ladder entrance at the centre. Large storage pits in and around the houses are evidence of the accumulation of dried salmon for winter use, or for trade with groups who could provide the rare materials valued by the people of the interior plateau. The use of such materials is seen in elaborate burials in which some members of society were interred with polished nephrite adzes, ornate clubs carved from bone or stone, masses of shell beads, and other objects. The concentration of such goods in certain burials argues for a society in which individuals had different access to wealth, probably based on family ownership of food resources.

If our traveller arrived a few years later, he would have found a much different situation. The Fraser Valley was

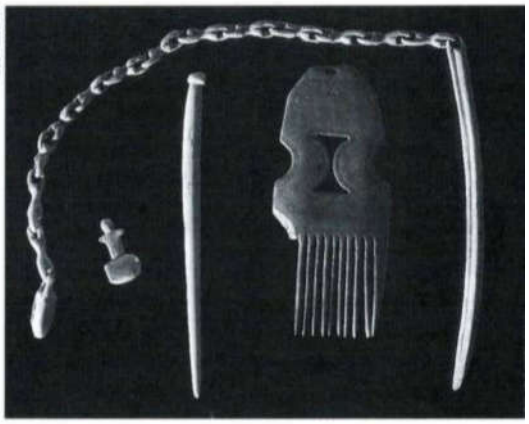
largely abandoned at some time very close to A.D. 1000. During the following centuries, a more mobile population no longer occupied the massive pit-house villages of their ancestors, but lived in smaller communities of tents or other temporary shelters. In attempting to explain this sudden change, archaeologists have suggested that a massive landslide may have blocked the lower Fraser River, destroying the river's salmon runs for several decades. Such a natural disaster would have had ruinous consequences for the people upstream who depended on the salmon and caused a drastic change over much of interior British Columbia at some time around a thousand years ago.

This disaster may, however, have opened a new homeland for refugees from an earlier catastrophe that was to have a wide impact on western North America. A couple of centuries earlier, a massive volcanic explosion in what is now southern Yukon had thrown a layer of ash over a wide portion of the western boreal forest, probably creating an uninhabitable region several thousand square kilometres in size. This event must have displaced large numbers of Dene-speaking peoples, the ancestors of the aboriginal groups who today occupy the forests from Alaska to Hudson Bay. Some of these refugees appear to have moved southwards, settling much of the interior of British Columbia at about the time that the area was abandoned by earlier salmon fishers. Some groups may have continued southwards along the interior plateau, eventually reaching the American Southwest, where they became the ancestors of the Dene-speaking Apache and Navaho, introducing a new and much different way of life into this distant region of Mexican-influenced farming peoples.

A massive landslide that blocked the flow of the river would have also had a profound effect on the lives of the Salishan-speaking communities occupying the lower reaches of the Fraser Valley, including the area around the present city of Vancouver. However, unlike their upstream neighbours, coastal peoples had access to a much wider range of resources, and could adapt their economies to environmental change. For the previous several thousand years, a number of populations had gradually developed diverse adaptations to the rich environments of the northwest coast of North America, with groups expanding or shifting their homelands as populations grew and trading patterns and political alliances developed and changed. By a thousand years ago most of these shifts in occupation were complete, and most regions of Canada's west coast were occupied by the ancestors of the aboriginal groups who live there today. A traveller through the region would have encountered a mosaic of groups speaking different languages, building their large multifamily wooden houses in a variety of patterns, enhancing their communities with a diversity of monumental sculptures in wood, and concentrating their economic life on the particular resources of their homelands.

Despite the diversity of languages and cultures, Northwest Coast people of a thousand years ago shared many elements of their way of life. Although most communities were not as large as

ROBERT MCGHEE



ROBERT MCGHEE

Above, left: Excavation and reconstruction of an early Inuit winter village in the Arctic. By A.D. 1000 the Inuit, who originated in southern Alaska, had moved into the western Canadian Arctic. Permanent houses were built of wood banked with turf and snow, but in the summer temporary tent shelters were constructed on the coast to be near the seal hunt or in the interior where caribou migrated.

Above, right: Ivory chain, comb, pin, and pendant recovered from an early Inuit village.

The Norse, who occupied L'Anse aux Meadows (now a National Historic Site, below) between the years 990 and 1050, engaged in ironworking and carpentry, and were the first known to have practised iron smelting in the New World. Found among the artifacts at the site were a spindle whorl, a needle hone, and a knitting needle (right).

Bottom: A fragment of chain-mail armour, the arm of a bronze balance, a portion of a bronze pot, and iron nail – Norse materials recovered from early Inuit villages in Arctic Canada – testify to early trade between Inuit and Europeans.

they were when Europeans arrived in the area during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the basic social and economic patterns of the historic period were well established. Throughout the area, communities were organized around extensive family lineages that competed against one another for wealth, power, and recognition. This competition fostered not only the development of artistic traditions centred on the recording and memorializing of individual or family status, but a widespread pattern of trade to distribute and accumulate the valuable materials through which status was acquired and marked. Flotillas of large dugout canoes travelled the coastal and inland waters, bearing the wealthier and more powerful members of local societies to war, to attend feasts and celebrations in neighbouring communities, to oversee the exploitation of important resource sites to which they held ownership, or to transport the bulk food supplies accumulated at these sites through the work of subsidiary families and slaves. The river valleys and mountain passes of the Interior were crossed by an intricate series of well-travelled foot-roads, on which files of packers carried boxes of dried fish, candlefish oil, and other valuable supplies. On their return trips they brought grizzly-bear skins and claws, obsidian from interior mountain slopes, copper from Alaska, and perhaps small blades of iron that had been traded across the Bering Strait from Siberia.

Following these trading trails northwards, our traveller would have entered the broad homelands of the Dene. Passing from band to band, each with a dialect, culture, and economy slightly different from that of its neighbour, the venturer could travel for over a thousand kilometres in any direction and still be in Dene lands. Among these forest hunters of caribou and fishers of the great lake and river systems of the northwest, a traveller could have been guided as far as the edge of the forests adjacent to Bering Strait, the Great Plains, the Mackenzie River Delta, or the Barren Grounds extending westward from Hudson Bay. The small mobile bands of Dene lived in tent-camps for most or all of the year, travelled primarily by canoe in summer, and in winter by snowshoe and dog-hauled toboggan. Their way of life was not significantly different from that remembered in oral tradition relating to the past few centuries, except that their furs and other valuable goods were traded to the Pacific Coast peoples to the south and the Inuit to the north, rather than to agents of the European fur trade.

One thousand years ago, the tundra lands of Arctic Canada were occupied by people whose way of life was not only much different from that of the forest Dene, but also from that of the Inuit who have inhabited the area in recent centuries. For over three thousand years, Arctic Canada had been occupied by a people known to archaeologists as Palaeo-Eskimos, and in Inuit history as Tunit. Neither Indian nor Inuit, the Tunit were the descendants of groups that had crossed the Bering Strait from Siberia almost five thousand years ago, and who had developed the earliest widespread adaptation to Arctic North America. Originally hunters of caribou and musk oxen, the Tunit had soon learned to take seals, walrus, and small whales, which they harpooned primarily from the sea ice rather than from boats in open water. Although they may have occasionally used kayaks, and kept a few dogs as

hunting animals, they did not possess the sophisticated maritime technology of the Inuit, nor teams of sled dogs that could be fed on surplus sea-mammal meat. The Tunit way of life, which was described by Inuit historians and reconstructed through archaeology, appears to have been considerably more difficult and less secure than that of the Inuit who displaced them from Arctic Canada during the past millennium.

In the centuries around A.D. 1000, an environmental change known in Europe as the Medieval Warm Period was bringing warmer temperatures and a reduction of sea ice to many regions of Arctic North America. To ice-hunters such as the Tunit, such a change may have brought frequent hardship as the sea ice on which they depended did not develop when expected during early winter, or disappeared weeks or months earlier than usual in the summer. The reduction of sea ice during Arctic summers was also an invitation to maritime peoples for whom open water proffered rich hunting and easy travel. The isolation of the Tunit was quickly ended when two such groups began to visit Arctic Canada.

From the west came ancestral Inuit, expanding eastwards from their original homelands in southern Alaska and around the coasts of the Bering Sea. The Inuit were primarily sea hunters, and by A.D. 1000 Inuit occupation had been established to the east of the Mackenzie River and around Amundsen Gulf in the western Canadian Arctic. At many locations along these coasts, a winter traveller would encounter villages of fifty or more people living in permanent wooden houses banked with turf and snow, and heated by large ceramic lamps burning whale or seal oil. The houses would have been surrounded by caches of meat and blubber, racks supporting skin-covered hunting kayaks and large open umiaks used for travel and hunting bowhead whales, and staked teams of sled dogs. Summer would have seen a move to coastal tent camps clustered at locations that focused on sealing and whaling, to interior camps established where caribou migrated, or to trading localities reached by large skin-covered open boats. Within the next century or two, such movements would quickly expand the range of Inuit occupation across Arctic Canada to Greenland.

The second population that appeared in Tunit lands at about A.D. 1000 were the Greenlandic Norse, who had within the past generation begun to establish farming settlements along the southwestern coast of Greenland. The oral histories of the early Norse, which were recorded a few centuries later by Icelandic historians, tell of voyages of exploration to the west and south of Greenland, and of at least one attempt to settle the countries discovered there. Archaeological finds, combined with the historical accounts, have allowed us to identify with reasonable assurance the locations of the lands that the Norse found and named: Helluland, a barren treeless land, which the Norse first reached from Greenland, must have been the eastern coast of Baffin Island and northern Labrador, where they traded at least occasionally with the Tunit; Markland, where the Norse met and fought with native peoples, was almost certainly the forested coast of central and southern Labrador; Vinland, where the Norse attempted to settle, was a name which probably applied to western Newfoundland and the adjacent coasts around the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here, at some time within a very few years of A.D. 1000, the Norse met, traded with, and soon were expelled by, peoples who must have been the ancestors of the Beothuk, Micmac, Innu, and other Algonquian-speaking peoples of Atlantic Canada.

These brief Norse ventures to the northern and eastern coasts of Canada had little effect on the history of the period, but were to have significant consequences over the coming centuries. The presence of a European community in Greenland may well have been the magnet that drew metal-seeking Inuit eastwards, to become the last in a series of aboriginal populations to settle a major region of the country. Likewise, there is little doubt that continued knowledge of a habitable land in the northwestern Atlantic also attracted fifteenth-century English and Portuguese ventures, which were to be important in developing early European exploitation and settlement of Atlantic Canada. To the indigenous people of eastern Canada in A.D. 1000, however, the arrival of the Norse had little consequence.

The aboriginal people who encountered these travellers were not the isolated inhabitants of a backward continent, as they are often portrayed in histories centred on European deeds and accomplishments. Rather, they were the most easterly representatives of a hemispheric civilization that had achieved full occupation and use of the American continents. This civilization encompassed groups who were far grander, wealthier, and more dangerous than small bands of northern European farmers and fishermen. The newcomers were viewed as neither gods nor conquerors, but interesting visitors with whom dealings carried a balance of risks and rewards. They would have been valued for the rare materials that they carried and were willing to trade – probably iron nails and similar small items, including the red cloth mentioned in saga accounts – as well as for their information about distant lands beyond the sea. The religious beliefs of these strangers would have been of little interest. Even if the Greenlandic Norse understood the significance of the millennium, which is doubtful among a population whose conversion to Christianity had barely begun, they would have been incapable of explaining it to peoples with unintelligible languages and much different views of the world. The end of the first millennium remained uncelebrated in the land that would one day be Canada.

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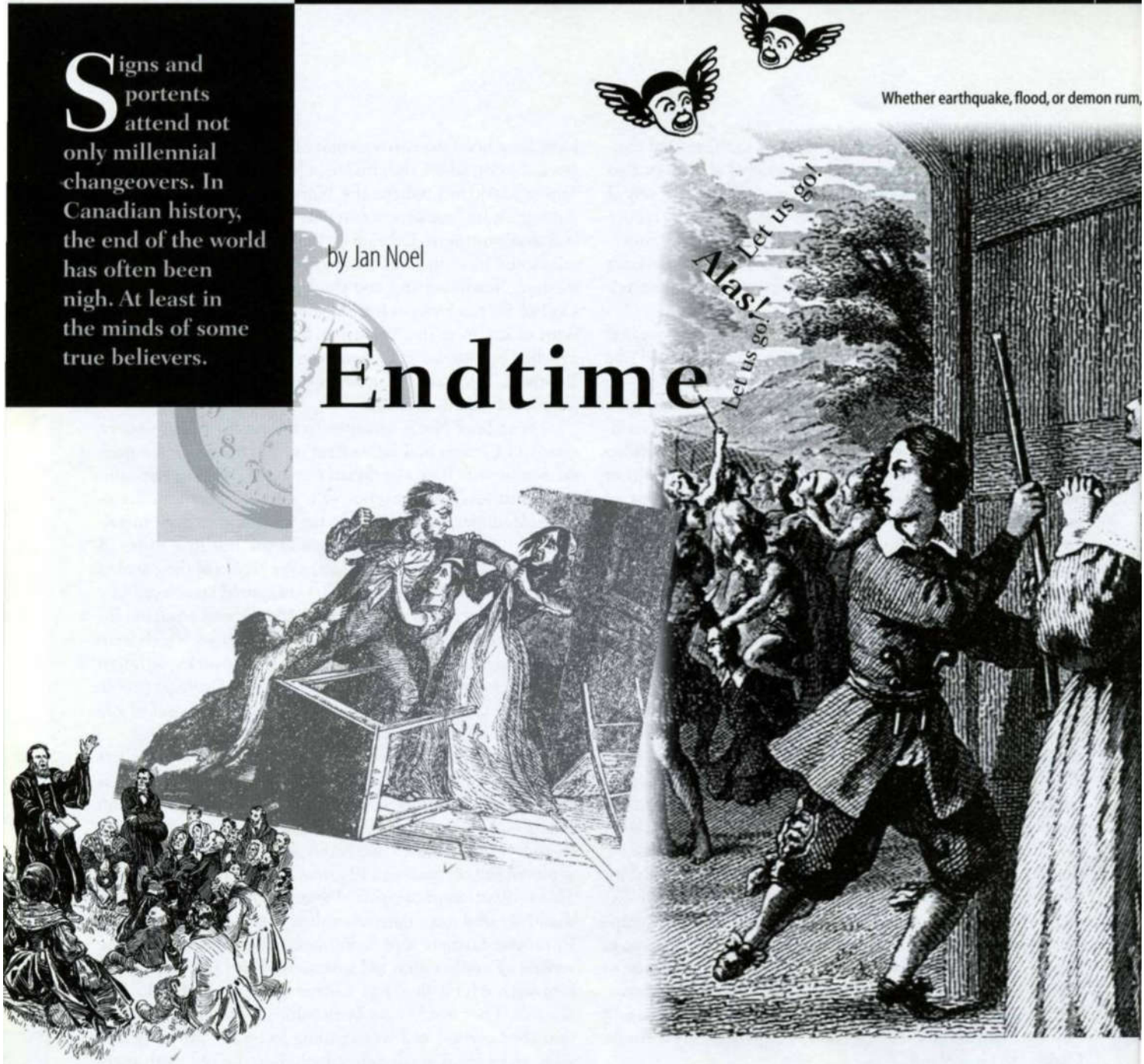
Signs and portents attend not only millennial changeovers. In Canadian history, the end of the world has often been nigh. At least in the minds of some true believers.

by Jan Noel

Endtime



On March 16, 1999, five hundred people packed Hart House Theatre at the University of Toronto to hear Professor Eugen Weber expound on "Apocalypses: Prophecies, Cults and Millennial Belief through the Ages." In the question period that followed, a person stood up at the entrance and asked, *Did the professor not believe in the Second Coming of Christ?* A hush fell over the audience, which included representatives of the corporate world, members of the intelligentsia, such as former *Saturday Night* editor Robert Fulford and social activist June Callwood, along with professors, students, and a public so eager that hundreds were turned away at the door. How would the speaker handle this?

He attempted wit: "No, I don't believe these things, I only talk about them." The tall, clear-voiced young man at the back of the hall persisted: *Did not the professor admire the way what was now a shattered vessel would be transformed into a beautiful vase, made whole again?* The gentlemanly speaker conceded that this was a very attractive belief, very attractive indeed, but … . As the prophet at the back of the hall resumed his testimony, the audience grew restless. "What's your question?" one irate woman called out. The chair intervened to close the session.

the tribulations experienced from New France to the prairies led some to proclaim the Second Coming.

The young man who posed the question stood in a long tradition of Canadians who braved the contempt of a crowd to proclaim their belief in the Second Coming. People in New France saw fiery portents of the End-time. Later, a correspondent to Upper Canada's *Christian Guardian* related that Protestant oracle William Miller had persuaded "thousands in our country" that the world would end on Good Friday, 1843. When those who gave their property away and stood watch that fatal April night were disappointed, Miller revised his prediction to a year later. In the Eastern Townships, Lydia Child warned her kin: "The Lord is coming, in a few short weeks ... O my Bro[ther] ... Flee for your life. ... the rich will howl with the miseries that shall come upon them. ... I am ... ready to mount up with wings as eagles to meet Him in the air, bless the Lord." Miller's followers subscribed to the prediction in the twentieth chapter of the Book of Revelations that "those who had not worshipped the beast ... [would reign] with Christ for a thousand years."

The End could come in two ways. Millerites were classic premillennialists who believed that Christ would descend and personally inaugurate a long reign with his blessed on Earth. There were also postmillennial groups – often of a social reforming cast of mind – who believed Christ would return only after the blessed had *themselves* ushered in a thousand-year period of peace and purity. Between 1660 and 1900, a number of movements of both types appeared in Canada.

Scholars attribute millennial movements to various causes, tending to arise in times of trauma or sharp transition. Some populations respond politically, rioting or demanding reform from their rulers. But highly religious people tend to seek more spiritual solutions. Steeped in Biblical prophecy, they read the upheavals around them as portents of World's End. Britain and North America's upsurge of millennial movements in the decades after 1770 responded to dislocations caused by three great revolutions: the Industrial, the American, and the French. Often, millennial leaders arise in colonial situations among oppressed ethnic or racial groups. Finding political or economic outlets blocked, talented men (and occasionally women) apply their gifts to building a new Jerusalem among believers. Part of the fascination with these movements is the remarkable individuals who lead them.

The Portents of 1663 One individual who perceived a pending apocalypse arrived in Quebec City in 1639, when it was little more than a trading post and a few outbuildings surrounded by forests, where native hunter-gatherers roamed. Marie de l'Incarnation was an Ursuline nun from Tours, France. As a young widow she had entered the convent, placing her twelve-year-old son Claude with relatives, notwithstanding his rending cries outside the convent window to "give me back my mother!" She fortified herself by rising at night to flagellate herself, wearing prickly garments and deliberately burning herself in candle flames. Marie, it might be discerned, did not live in the world of ordinary human emotions.

Marie de l'Incarnation, born Marie Guyart in Tours, France in 1599, came to Quebec in 1639 to establish a convent. As a child, she manifested great spirituality and in adulthood was haunted by visions, one of which led her to New France. Prior to an earthquake that shook Quebec in February, 1663 (illustration, left), she noted portents that spoke to her of the end of the world. But because the earthquake's terrors sent people to confession, Marie concluded that God had postponed the Day of Judgment.

NATIONAL ARCHIVES OF CANADA / C-3078

When Jesuit missionaries requested pious women to come teach native girls, Marie was among the first to sign on. She founded a tiny log Ursuline convent in Quebec and set to work learning Huron and Algonquian tongues. Soon the convent was full of the voices of children deposited by their parents, who were heading off to the winter hunt.

One of those winters, the world threatened to end. In her letters to her now reconciled son in France, Marie de l'Incarnation reflected on the strange happenings of the past four months:

> *My very dear son,*
>
> *On the 3rd day of February of this year 1663 a ... [native] Christian, wakening in her cabin while all the others slept, heard a distinct and articulated voice ... 'In two days, very astonishing and marvellous things will come to pass.'*

New Brunswick actually tried the experiment, but gave up when sinners beat up saints in the streets.

In due time, the portents began. One of the holiest nuns saw four "furious and enraged demons" at the four corners of Quebec. They shook the earth so violently it seemed they would turn it right over. Fortunately, "a personage of wondrous beauty and delightful majesty" arose to curb them.

Then Quebec experienced an earthquake. Nuns, natives, colonists, Europeans, and even the staid Dutch burghers to the south in Albany panicked as the earth moved beneath them. There were strange rumbles, clouds of dust, falling stones, cracking houses, and church bells spontaneously pealing. The air was filled with mysterious howls and shrieks in the air of "Alas" and "Let us go! Let us go!"

"We saw fires, torches, flaming globes," Marie confided to her son. "A man of fire was seen with flames pouring through his mouth ... . We were in continual expectation of death."

Having seen the man of fire foretold in the Book of Daniel, she also observed watery portents. The St. Lawrence River turned the colour of sulphur, recalling the Book of Revelations. Further down, at Gaspé, it tossed the passengers on a French shallop as high as a house; they gasped to look ashore and see "a great high mountain ... suddenly move and turn, as if in a pirouette, and all at once sink and be swallowed up until its summit was level with the ground and as firm as glass." These happenings, Marie wrote, left them "all so frightened we believed it was the eve of Judgement, since all the portents were to be seen." Because the event sent so many who had "slept in their sins" streaming to the confessionals, Marie expressed the opinion that God would, after all, postpone the Day of Judgement.

Demon Rum New France ended but the world endured. After the colony fell into British hands in 1760, a new scourge arrived: massive importation of cheap West Indian rum. By 1800 it was reported that the once-sober *habitants* had changed their habits. Even saints' days were occasions for drunkenness, and many a seigneur's son had sunk into dissipation.

Things were equally bad in Upper Canada, where miry roads made it cheaper to convert grain at local stills than transport it to market. Popular lore reinforced the problem, holding that regular doses of alcohol were necessary to purify water, heal ailments, and to fortify travellers and field hands, as well as nursing mothers, judges, auctioneers, and even children. Visitors reported that there were few other places of amusement than taverns. The results were predictable.

Cheap rum and whisky lubricated other regions too. West of Lake Superior, the early nineteenth-century rivalry between the Hudson's Bay and North West companies led to such overuse of alcohol that violence became endemic. Along the Atlantic coast, merchants often paid impoverished fishing families in rum and showed chilling disregard for their lives. In 1835, a Newfoundland captain spied a boat off the coast of Labrador bobbing on wild seas. Father, mother, and three young children were prostrate with drink, oblivious of danger. Their rescuer learned that "the party had that morning been out in their boat to purchase a few articles in a neighbouring harbour ... the trader had plied them well with rum and fitted them out with their articles in the midst of a gale, heedless of whether they perished or not."

Teetotal Prophets That oversteeped society saw two prophets arise, both in Montreal. The Reverend Joseph Stibbs Christmas came to serve a little congregation of entrepreneurs at the American Presbyterian Church in 1824. He was a classical scholar from Princeton, a man of artistic temperament with an almost womanly face. Reverend Christmas was like a firebrand dropped into the polite world of Montreal churchgoers. In his sermons, he got personal — so much so that some of his auditors stormed out. He pointed to the bottle and the keg they loved as the source of poverty, brutality, and neglect of families. He asked those who *could* drink safely to stop in order to reduce temptation for the army of alcoholics around them. Reverend Christmas's congregation soon swelled from thirty members to three hundred.

They were willing to stifle their thirst partly because Reverend Christmas suggested the End was so near. Their Bible, missionary and educational societies, their reforming zeal, were turning Montreal into Canada's shining City on a Hill, breaking up the "wintry ages gone by." "Was there ever an age," the minister proposed, "... richer in the budding prospects of millennial maturity?" Montrealers had the money and the zeal to spread their revival across the land, making Canadian landscapes "radiate with the light of life. Along the peaceful shores of its majestic river," he promised, "salvation shall roll in gladdening streams." When he formed Montreal's first temperance society in 1828, Reverend Christmas predicted that it could transform all Canada within ten years. That his timing was close to the mark was due to a second temperance prophet, John Dougall.

John Dougall came over from Scotland selling paisley shawls. After a conversion experience, he took up the campaign Reverend Christmas had begun. He envisioned a mighty "Temperance Reformation" that would "cut off at

once and forever the greater part of all the evils ... afflict[ing] the human race and prepare the way for the time of universal peace, purity, and happiness promised in the Gospel." The cause, he avowed, must succeed, "for the millennial glory cannot arrive without the previous success of the temperance reformation." Unlike Marie de l'Incarnation, Dougall was a postmillennialist: he believed Christ would return *after* humans had sanctified the earth for his coming.

As editor of two best-selling evangelical papers, the *Canada Temperance Advocate* and the *Montreal Witness*, John Dougall prepared thousands across British North America for the dry millennium. In the workhouses, barracks, and alleys, he recruited soldiers, sailors, and down-and-outers to take the pledge and step up on the platform. This added a populist element to Reverend Christmas' born-again business families. Dougall liked to blast the wealthy "who roll in their carriages and amass wealth year after year, drawn from the very heart's blood of the poor; and ... think themselves very charitable if they give a hundred dollars to keep the miserable paupers they have made from absolute starvation."

Ushering In The Dry Millennium The Montreal Temperance Society, well funded by men such as sugar magnate John Redpath, packed Dougall's newpapers and temperance tracts into the saddlebags of some dozen preachers all through the 1840s and sent them from Gaspé to Lake Huron with the glad tidings. They sent back amazing news: whole villages were being converted, were so excited to see drunkenness addressed that they followed the circuit riders in procession from place to place. Children were converting parents. Women were shunning suitors who drank. Distillers were giving up the business, temperance inns replacing taverns, wherever they went. The society enrolled over one thousand members a month. By 1844, their figures indicated there were 150,000 teetotallers in the Province of Canada. By 1850 there were half a million.

Those first converts suffered for their faith. Gentlemen interrupted meetings to mock their fanaticism. Ruffians threw rocks or doused them with cold water. Employers fired them as seditious radicals. Their ranks grew all the larger. Summer afternoons in the mid-1840s saw long processions converging on riverbanks with banners saying "Peace" and "Happiness" and "Temperance, Will You Join Us?" When warring religious and ethnic factions sat down peacably by the hundreds at temperance love-feasts, it seemed the glorious Last Days were indeed about to dawn.

So powerful was support for the dry vision that in 1855 a Prohibition Bill passed three readings and nearly became law in the Province of Canada, until killed on a technicality. The same year New Brunswick actually tried the experiment, but gave up when sinners beat up saints in the streets. Despite setbacks, John Dougall never stopped peering towards the clouds. On New Year's Day, 1860, he mused that the world was full of revivals and "premonitions ... a general state of expectancy [like that of the Jewish world] immediately before Christ's coming. ... a strange and ominous conjunction."

Hope sprang eternal. Little did Canada's first teetotal prophets who perceived the End was nigh realize that the temperance army would still be marching to Armageddon for nearly a century to come. Prohibition did come at last, with the Great War of 1914–18; but once again the predicted millennium failed to arrive.

Louis Riel turned increasingly to religion in the wake of disappointments in politics, and eventually came to believe that God himself was directing his actions. When the Métis asked him in 1884 to help them obtain their legal rights in the Saskatchewan valley, they found themselves with a prophet rather than a political leader.

Riel, Politician and Prophet Colonel Garnet Wolseley, who led Canadian troops west in 1870 to put down the uprising at Red River, was so taken with the temperance vision that he required his men to drink tea rather than the usual liquor ration. When they arrived thirsty for both whisky and blood, rebel leader Louis Riel fled across the border. Riel was a powerfully built man with intense brown eyes. In 1870 he was neither madman nor prophet, but the accomplished leader who enabled Manitoba to enter Confederation not as a powerless territory but a province on its own terms with its own members of Parliament. But it was a Pyrrhic victory for the Métis. The hostility of the incoming Easterners caused them to sell their lands and move west to the Saskatchewan River area. As for Riel, his imprudent execution of Orangeman Thomas Scott unleashed such furor that he could never, for fear of his life, represent the new province in Parliament. "Repeated disappointments in politics," his biographer Thomas Flanagan wrote, "even-

Riel ... predicted catastrophe would precede the ultimate triumph – that within twelve hours of his death the earth would shake; one-third of the people would perish.

tually turned Riel's energies in the direction of religion."

Riel came by his religious streak honestly. He was raised in a devout Catholic home, had a sister who was a nun, and himself studied at the seminary in Montreal for several years. It was in exile after the uprising that he began to hear voices and utter prophesies. Those of native blood, he divined, were descendants of one of the tribes of Israel. They were therefore most fit to restore the Judaic laws and Saturday Sabbath, which God desired.

Riel's visions temporarily landed him in a mental asylum in Beauport, Quebec, where he was evidently exposed to a circle of Ultramontane Catholics fascinated with medieval and renaissance oracles of World's End, such as Bridget of Sweden and Nostradamus. Moving to Montana territory, Riel lived quietly there until the Saskatchewan Métis rode down to ask him to lead the struggle for their rights. Once again their way of life was threatened by the arrival of settlers, as well as the disappearance of the buffalo. After he arrived in 1884, the Prairie Apocalypse unfolded.

The Prairie Apocalypse, 1885 The Saskatchewan Métis must have been surprised when they received a prophet rather than a political leader. In one of several reworkings of the numerology in the Book of Daniel, Riel – who saw himself as "a much greater genius than Mohammed" – predicted that the Papacy would move to Montreal, then reign in St. Boniface, Manitoba, for 1876 years. The latter reign would culminate in the Second Coming. Like the teetotallers (of which he was one), Riel was a postmillennialist who believed a kingdom of peace and happiness must be established on earth before Christ would come. The Métis would rule Manitoba, surrounded by other favoured groups such as "religious Irish, pious Bavarians, faithful Poles, hardworking Scandinavians, intelligent *Canadiens*" with a niche even for Anglo-Saxons.

Riel's inner light revealed him leading a shining group of Métis into "the time foretold, with all the signs ... of which Scripture speaks." He gave new, more Christian names to the stars, planets, continents, and days of the week. France, as predicted in Nostradamus, would rule Europe, with Riel himself (who claimed descent from Charles IX) on its throne. He called the insurgents Exovedes (the flock), hardly a martial image. The flock passed a resolution declaring Louis "David" Riel the prophet of the New World (his adopted middle name harking back to Israel's priest-king). One follower later said: "The majority had such faith in his prophecies that they would have thrown themselves in the water if the spirit of God had said that to Riel."

Riel was clearly living in spiritual time. But the Métis and Indians fired real bullets, killing twelve Mounties at Duck Lake and ten Canadians at Fish Creek. Riel delayed their manoeuvres by commanding frequent stops to say the rosary. Each morning he regaled his followers with fresh revelation from the Holy Spirit, or invoked Elias, the prophet who was to presage the Messiah's coming. Riel held high a figure of Christ as they fought at Duck Lake. During later battles he stretched out his own arms to form a cross, two powerful Métis helping him hold them up. As vastly superior Canadian forces bore down at Batoche, Riel prayed for miracles. The Prophet did not even try to escape as his forces were crushed.

In his prison cell awaiting hanging, Riel "slept neither day nor night" but wrote down continuing revelations. As was typical of millennial leaders, he predicted catastrophe would precede the ultimate triumph – that within twelve hours of his death the earth would shake; one-third of the people would perish.

Neither the human race nor Riel's chosen people fell so quickly. Still, 1885 did signal catastrophe. The natives were herded onto reservations and largely forgotten. Many of the Métis settled into an impoverished existence as squatters along the railway clearances, becoming "the road-allowance people." This was not the first defeat for Canada's first peoples. Marie de l'Incarnation's day, like Louis Riel's, was also a time of disaster. Disease, French brandy, overtrapping, and war took a tremendous toll of seventeenth-century natives in eastern Canada. When those two ardent Catholic leaders, two centuries apart, saw portents of World's End, they were not far wrong. The world the natives had known *was* coming to an end. Whether salvation crowned their suffering is a question for theologians, or perhaps for those who are now reviving native culture and rights that once seemed doomed to extinction.

As for the temperance forces, they did indeed build their City on a Hill. Their crusade of the 1840s saw distilleries in the Province of Canada reduced by half, with even sharper drops in Maritime drinking. Reeling sailors, judges, and stagecoach drivers went out of fashion (though reeling politicians lingered longer). Temperance revivalists proved people could travel on cold days and work on hot ones without whisky stimulants, a discovery that greatly increased public safety. They went a little too far and became shrill from seeing so many disappointments on the road to their millennium. They succeeded, though, in making Canada a place where alcohol was no longer drink for children or the deadly wage paid the poor. In short, none of these millennial moments in Canadian history met the full expectations of those who looked up to the heavens with shining eyes, but each had its own truth to tell.

Jan Noel teaches Canadian and gender history at the University of Toronto at Mississauga. Her book *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation*, won the Canadian Historical Association's John A. MacDonald Prize for 1996. *Women of New France* will appear in 2000.

1900: A New Century Begins

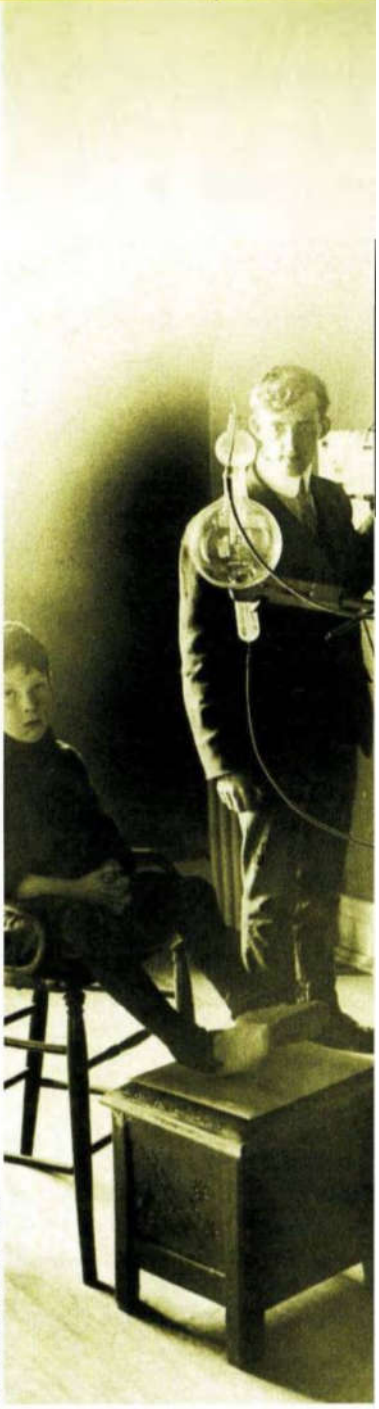
Victoria is in the last year of her reign. Wilfrid Laurier is in the fourth year of his premiership. There are seven provinces, two territories, and five million Canadians *a mari usque ad mare*. Only the ones in trousers can vote. People labour in the fields and forests, but look to industry to one day ease their lives and maybe make them rich. Science challenges the old verities. Hearts and minds are on a war half a world away. It's January 1, 1900, and officially or unofficially a brave new century is about to begin.

by Desmond Morton

Did the twentieth century open in 1900 or in 1901? Then as now, Canadians were not unanimous. The popular Montreal paper, *La Presse*, welcomed the 1900s on December 30, 1899 with an outsized sixteen-page edition. A staff artist filled the front page with a classically draped woman crossing an arch from XIX to XX. Her upstretched hands bore two smoking pans, one with the peaceful technologies of steam, electricity, photography, and even a horseless carriage; the other carried machine guns, cannon, torpedoes, and the vast misty bulk of a battleship, blasting out their destructive power. Mankind would make its choice.

On New Year's Day, 1900, Canadian minds were on war. Far away at Belmont on the South African veldt, a thousand hot, thirsty, and bored Canadians prepared to fight alongside British soldiers against sharp-shooting farmers of the Boer republics. At Halifax and Ottawa, other volunteers tended their horses and waited for ships. To many Canadians, the Boer War was a remote adventure, a gesture of solidarity with a beloved old Queen Victoria and an Empire on which the sun never set. For a few, it was imperial warmongering. Most people had concerns closer to home. Winters were always hard on the poor: fuel prices soared and jobs vanished as firms laid off surplus employees until spring. The wealthier worried that the collapse of an Australian-based investment company had upset financial markets.

In business and farming, winters were a slack time. New Year's Day, like Christmas, was a rare statutory holiday. In Ontario, January 1 was municipal election day, and property owners were busy choosing mayors and councils. Of course, voting was reserved for men. Except for a handful of wealthy widows and spinsters rich enough for the municipal franchise, women stayed home to organize servants and children to receive the day's



ARCHIVES OF THE HOSPITAL FOR SICK CHILDREN

A patient being X-rayed at Toronto's Hospital for Sick Children, circa 1900.

The ingenuity of the nineteenth century had wrought great change in people's lives. Discovered by German physicist Wilhelm Roentgen in 1895, the X-ray quickly found application in diagnostic medicine.

LA PRESSE 66,578

LE SIECLE NOUVEAU

The officers of the Second Battalion Royal Canadian Regiment at Quebec. On October 30, 1899 they set sail for South Africa to aid the British in their fight against the Afrikaner republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State. More than seven thousand Canadians fought in the Boer War. It was Canada's first overseas military expedition, and as the twentieth century would go on to prove, not its last.

visitors. Everywhere in Canada, New Year's was celebrated with social calls, some formal, most among family and friends. In Ottawa, the governor general received from noon to one o'clock; Manitoba's new lieutenant-governor received for much of the afternoon. Horses and sleighs and a few of the new automobiles delivered the social elite to episcopal palaces and government houses. Everyone called on relatives and neighbours.

Prescient but Premature As it turned out, *La Presse* was prescient. War and technology would dominate the 1900s. It was also premature. Officially, Canada entered the twentieth century a year later, on January 1, 1901. Orders from the Militia Department to salute the new century reached Quebec's Citadel only on Monday morning, December 31, 1900. Permanent force gunners spent the rest of the day preparing ninety-nine charges for the saluting battery. As midnight approached, forty-nine loud reports thumped through the frigid night air over Quebec. At midnight, as the city's bells broke into joyous peals, fifty more rounds followed.

At the nearby Château Frontenac hotel, Charles Baillargé, the former city engineer, had summoned friends to an end-of-century banquet. The table groaned under *potage à vapeur*, St. Lawrence oysters, Alaska salmon, lamb, beef, turkey, *croquettes bacilli-bactériques*, *pouding* Christmas Pretoria, *feuilleté à la triple expansion*, and *fromage automobile*. As his pièce de résistance, Baillargé had devised a display of electric lights. At the first booming salute, Baillargé pressed a single button and his guests gasped as the bulbs suddenly glimmered "1901."

Across Canada, noise was the common motif. In Montreal, fire bells and church bells rang out their sounds of joy. As midnight approached in Toronto, the snow stopped, and bandsmen warmed their hands between versions of *Auld Lang Syne*, *The Maple Leaf*, and *Red, White and Blue*. Worshippers packed the city's churches to welcome the new century on their knees. Just before midnight, the electric lights at the new city hall went dark. Minutes later, they shone forth again. Bells in the tower pealed twelve times for midnight and twenty more times for the new century. Since the necessary mechanical device had not yet been delivered, three strong men lifted and dropped the clappers.

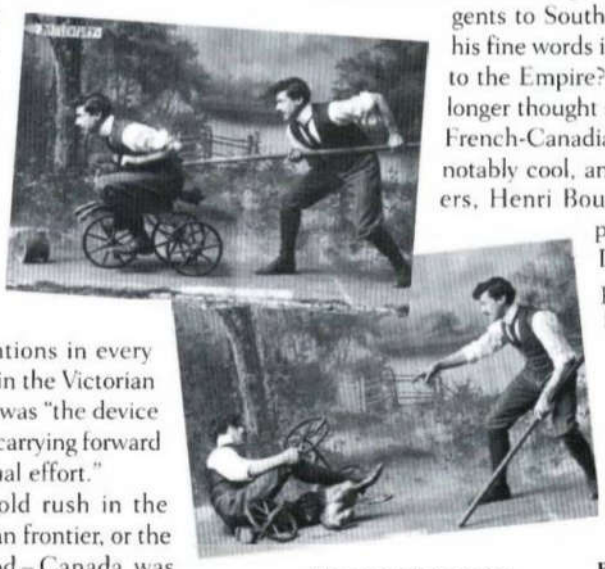
At hourly intervals across the country, from Halifax to Vancouver, a special new year meant noisy celebration in the streets, prayer and reflection for the devout, and dutiful rhetoric from editors and uninspired poets. *Le Soleil*, "Newspaper of the Liberal party," assured its Quebec City readers: "We wish nothing better for this new century than to still live under the protective aegis of our Very Gracious Sovereign Lady, Her Majesty Queen Victoria." The versifier in the *Manitoba Free Press* was probably no worse than most:

Hail New-Born Cycle, Hail
A royal greeting waits thee here!
May peace and happiness be thine
May all your years be filled with charm

The morning after brought hangovers and hospitality and a few celebratory acts of generosity. In Saint John, New Brunswick, Police-Magistrate Ritchie summoned the twenty-five frowsty inmates in the city jail and satisfied himself that most were drunks and none were serious offenders or debtors. After a lecture on mending their ways in the new century, he released them all. An ex-Toronto alderman, who had skipped town after perjury charges were laid in one of the city's lusher scandals, was equally lucky. A judge weighed evidence that he had denied using "pull" or profiting from it, and sent him home to his family.

Not that honesty or innocence pervaded the country. On the other side of the country, reported the *Free Press*, three robbers celebrated the new century by stopping the mail coach between Agassiz and Harrison Hot Springs and relieving nine passengers of watches, jewellery, purses, and $450 in cash.

A Confident Beginning Though nationwide opinion polls were still forty years away, most Canadians seem to have been quite pleased with themselves in 1901, and confident about their twentieth-century future. The long economic slump that had coexisted with their young Confederation since the early 1870s had unaccountably lifted, and the previous century had acquired a golden glow. *La Presse* was not alone in its technological fixation. Most celebratory editorials rejoiced, legitimately, in the inventiveness of the previous century. No other age, declared the *Manitoba Free Press*, had been as rich in discoveries and inventions in every realm of human life, particularly in the Victorian age, though the greatest of these was "the device of organized combination for the carrying forward of enterprises too big for individual effort."



Vancouver photographer Fred Hacking heralded the new century with humour and, depending on your view of twentieth-century progress, perhaps a little clairvoyance.

Whatever the reasons – a gold rush in the Yukon, the closing of the American frontier, or the blessings of an inscrutable God – Canada was prospering. The long-sought floods of immigrants were finally arriving, and, if not all of them were British or their racial relatives, most Canadians finally felt that there was work and opportunity for all, at least on the remote western prairies where most of the newcomers were intended to go. In power in Ottawa and most of the provinces, Liberals claimed the credit. Indeed, the advent of prosperity had almost coincided with Sir Wilfrid Laurier's young government, elected on June 23, 1896, after years of Sir John A. Macdonald and his Tory successors. In power, Laurier had brought his "sunny ways" to the bitter Manitoba dispute over the educational rights of Catholics, French Canadians, and, incidentally, other linguistic minorities. His finance minister, William Fielding (once the secessionist premier of Nova Scotia) had stolen the tariff issue from the Tories with a brilliant stroke. His "imperial preference" simultaneously cut tariffs, cautiously favoured British imports, preserved protection, and honoured Queen Victoria in her diamond jubilee year. Prosperity had undoubtedly won Sir Wilfrid Laurier an enlarged majority of seats and votes and a second term on November 7, 1900, less than two months away from the new century.

Most Canadians seem to have been quite pleased with themselves in 1901, and confident about their twentieth-century future.

Not everybody agreed. Political allegiances ran deep in Canada, and however charming Sir Wilfrid might be, devout Tories were not easily turned into Grits. Among opponents of compromise on tariffs, trade, minority rights, or the power of majorities to impose their will, Laurier made enemies. The Boer War, too, had divided Canadians. Orchestrated pressure from pro-Empire newspapers and their English-speaking readers had forced the government to send official contingents to South Africa and they knew it. For all his fine words in London, was Laurier truly loyal to the Empire? Many, especially in Ontario, no longer thought so, and it mattered a lot to them. French-Canadian opinion, in contrast, had been notably cool, and one of Laurier's ablest followers, Henri Bourassa, had resigned his seat in protest. Canada's contingents, Laurier insisted, were not a precedent for future wars. In fact, as Bourassa insisted, the Boer War was only the first time Canada's imperial alliance would draw her into war. In 1914 and 1939, he would be proved right.

Labour as Pain and Prosperity For most people, politics were a distraction from the grinding burdens of farming, fishing, construction, factory, and domestic labour, and from the nerve-wracking competition of business

A time-traveller from the other end of the century would be surprise

and professional life. If both the *Free Press* and *La Presse* seemed obsessed by technology, it was because staff and readers had experienced both the incredible inventiveness of the nineteenth century and the changes it had brought. Food, clothing, travel, medicine, education, and a faith in science as problem-solver coexisted firmly, if awkwardly, with older faith in traditional precepts about family, religion, and the proper social order. Most Canadians believed in a hierarchy of classes, races, and faiths, which put them at or near the top.

Was that compensation for a daily life that often was hard, exhausting, pain-ridden, and dangerous? Men and women routinely performed hard physical labour, often with no aids beyond a few draft animals and such primitive machines as the lever, pulley, and inclined plane. Hundreds died annually in industrial accidents, and many more suffered crippling injuries, though no central agency bothered to count and record them. Railway workers and their passengers lived more dangerously than their descendants: accidents in 1901 took thirty-two lives and left 563 injured. A major storm at sea or on the Great Lakes left dozens drowned. Seamen and passengers alike paid with their lives for unseaworthy vessels and a lack of weather forecasting. In 1900, shipping accidents in Canadian waters or in Canadian-registered ships took seventy-four lives; in 1901, the toll was 126. Childbirth remained the single major cause of female mortality. One child in four did not survive infancy. If anaesthesia, though dangerous and imperfect, was common for serious operations, most pain was borne with whatever stoicism the sufferer could muster. Infection was combated, when it could be, by cauterization or carbolic acid. Medical historians would suggest that it was only late in the century, perhaps the 1870s, that it had become wiser to see a doctor than to stay away. Others would argue that the moment comes much later. As ever, it probably depended on the doctor.

Most Canadians believed in a hierarchy of classes, races, and faiths, which put them at or near the top.

Conscious of material progress, thoughtful people wondered, as they would a century later, whether society had kept pace with its inventive ingenuity. Toronto's *Globe*, dutiful backer of Laurier and the Liberals, still high-mindedly liberal, assured its readers: "The battle for political freedom was the great work of the nineteenth century. The battle for industrial freedom must be the great work of the twentieth." This paid little heed to the political rights of half the population, but full wisdom is never granted to prophets.

Five Million Canadians In 1901, Canada's decennial census found 5,371,315 people in 1,070,747 families. Men not only monopolized political power, they formed a small majority of the population. The census discovered that 928,952 men and 904,091 women reported themselves married, an anomaly explained in part by wives left behind in former homelands to wait for an immigrant husband to summon them. Twice as many women as men, 150,766 to 73,597, were widowed, but only 399 men and 322 women had to confess to the shame of divorce.

Canadians were diverse in their religious faiths but overwhelmingly loyal. Editors of the statistical yearbook could hardly conceal their delight that 99.17 per cent of the population could be placed in one of 142 specified denominations. Enumerators unearthed thirty additional sects, with a total of 149 members. Roman Catholics predominated, with 2,229,997 members, 41.5 per cent of the population. Methodists, slipping slightly since 1891, were in second place, with 916,862 adherents, ahead of the Presbyterians with 842,301. Anglicans had most reason for alarm, dropping 0.7 per cent in a decade to 680,346. The new tide of immigration had expanded the largest non-Christian group, Jews, to 16,432 in 1901 from 2,393 in 1881.

Religion, particularly the gulf between Catholics and Protestants, had fuelled some of the bitterest battles in the young Dominion's politics. In 1896, Laurier's refusal to accept Catholic dictation on Manitoba schools had attracted enough militant Protestants like D'Alton McCarthy, once Macdonald's obvious heir, to give Canada its first Catholic and French-speaking prime minister.

Schooling mattered far more in 1901 than it had in 1867, when only Ontario and Nova Scotia had anything like a public school system. In 1901, 1,086,149 Canadians were classified as students, though less than two-thirds could be found in school on the mythical average day. Quebec contributed the least tax support to its schools, $1.13 per student, and Manitoba the most, $4.92. The greatest part of the cost came from local rates or fees. Seventeen institutions claimed to be universities and twenty more were degree-granting colleges, not counting Quebec's nineteen *collèges classiques*. They ranged from McGill University, with its income of $303,000 and 1,114 students, to the new University of Manitoba, with $5,500 and 135 students. Apart from a handful of "ladies colleges," all but New Brunswick's Mount Allison located in Ontario, women had little place in higher education, though the larger universities offered them a few narrow and well-chaperoned opportunities.

Many institutions, from schools to asylums, depended heavily on women as clients and labour. Without ill-paid teachers and nurses, Canada's public schools and its "charitable and eleemosynary" institutions could never have survived on meagre subsidies from their province and the benefactions of the rich. Canada's eighteen insane asylums treated 5,881 women and 6,116 men in 1900. Females were strongly represented in

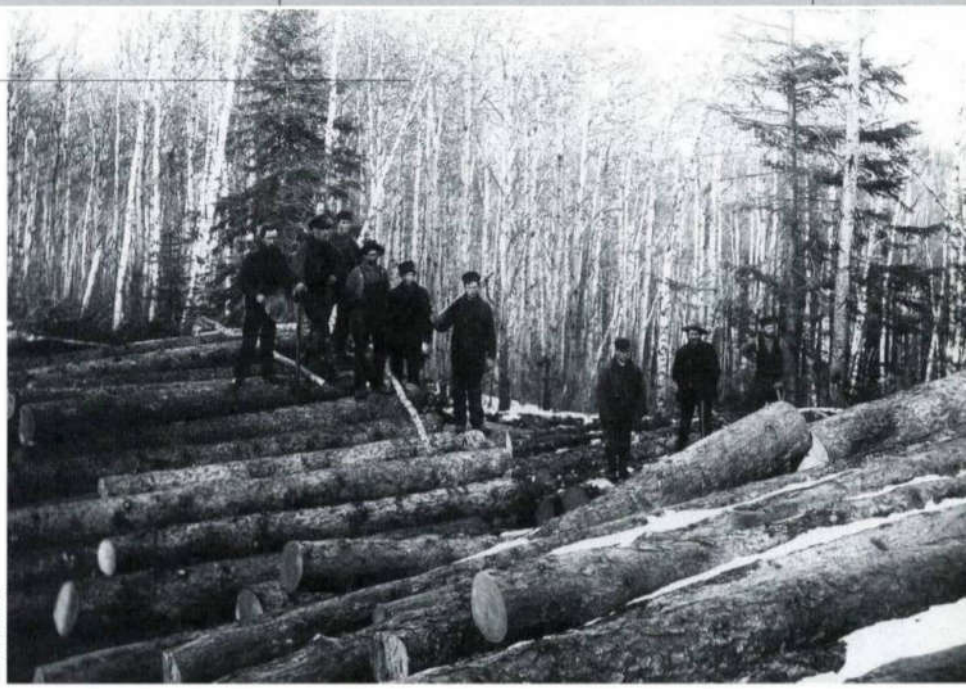
d how bare much of the land looked.

the houses of refuge, poor farms, and asylums where the old, infirm, and penniless lived out their lives in circumstances carefully devised to be meaner than worst-paid workers. The 1,381 inmates in Canada's five penitentiaries were intended to be even worse off. Convicts ranged from murderers, rapists, and burglars to a tiny contingent of bigamists. Fifty-four "coloureds" formed 3 per cent of the penitentiary population, roughly a hundred times their share of Canada's population.

Cities and Urban Life Montreal was Canada's largest city in 1901, with 267,730 people. With a population of 208,040, Toronto was catching up. Competitors were far behind: Quebec City with 68,840, Ottawa with 59,928 and Hamilton, 52,634. The prairie metropolis of Winnipeg, a collection of shacks in 1870, now had 42,230 people, while the two major cities of the Maritimes, Halifax and Saint John, had only 40,832 and 40,711 respectively.

Modern traffic and noise pollution have their critics, but major cities in 1901 could be clogged by lumbering drays competing for road space with private carriages and nimble cabbies. Drivers, notoriously, made their emotions heard and horses had their own environmental impact, particularly in midsummer. In winter, gangs of shovellers tossed snow from streetcar tracks on to sidewalks, and shop assistants shovelled it back again. Progressive cities had begun to switch from gas lighting to electric-powered arc lights, and from horse-drawn omnibuses to electric-powered streetcars. For heat, people depended on wood stoves and coal furnaces. Catastrophic fires, particularly in the poorer parts of town, were as predictable as winter itself.

Second Largest Country Most Canadians today would be hard-pressed to say how big their country is, though most know it is the second-biggest national land mass in the world.



MANITOBA ARCHIVES

Lumbering operation at Riding Mountain, Manitoba, 1905.

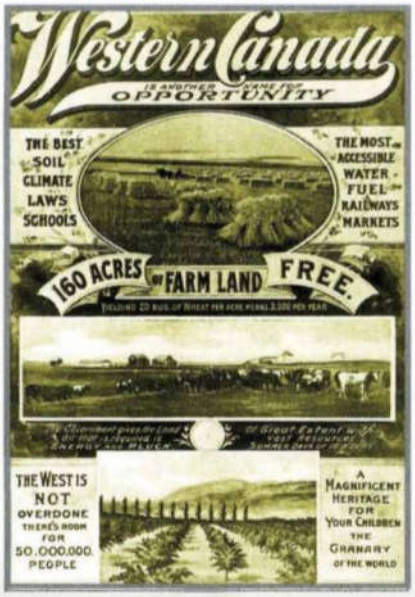
At the beginning of the twentieth century, Canadians were, in the oft-repeated phrase from the Book of Joshua, "hewers of wood and drawers of water," as far as their economic activity went. By the end of the twentieth century, Canadians might be more aptly described as hewers of wood, drawers of water, and riveters of cars.

In 1900, not even the official *Canada Statistical Record* offered an answer. Surveyors had established the size of the settled southern provinces, but the vast Arctic region, transferred by Britain in 1881, had never been measured, and would not be until airplanes began to fly over it in the 1920s. What everyone realized was that Canada was almost unimaginably huge. Then as now, of course, most of its people huddled close to the southern border, in a narrow, broken strip of settlement.

Pioneers had systematically stripped the settled regions of Canada of their trees and a time-traveller from the other end of the century would be surprised how bare much of the land looked. Clearing the land of the dense forests that crowded to the very edge of the lakes and streams had been the first priority for anyone dependent on crops, livestock, timber, and cordwood to survive Canada's interminable winters. Few scientists professed to tell good land from bad. In the ensuing century, beginning in the 1920s, much of the worst land returned to forest, and much of the best land vanished under homes, lawns, asphalt streets, and shopping malls. In cities and towns, railways had annihilated distance and winter isolation. Refrigeration had begun to make fresh produce available year-round to

Below: The government of Sir Wilfrid Laurier aggressively promoted immigration to settle the Prairies, establishing a vigorous organization to seek out potential farmers in the U.S., Britain, as well as in central and eastern Europe. Though the West was the focus of official attention, in 1900 it was Ontario, not the Prairies, that was Canada's breadbasket.

Bottom: A farm near Oxbow, Saskatchewan, around the turn of the century.


Western Canada
OPPORTUNITY
THE BEST SOIL CLIMATE LAWS SCHOOLS
THE MOST ACCESSIBLE WATER FUEL RAILWAYS MARKETS
160 ACRES OF FARM LAND FREE.
THE WEST IS NOT OVERDONE THERE'S ROOM FOR 50,000,000 PEOPLE
A MAGNIFICENT HERITAGE FOR YOUR CHILDREN THE GRANARY OF THE WORLD

those who could afford such luxuries. Most people survived on the few monotonous vegetables, fruits, and meat that could survive winter storage. If bad harvests no longer brought starvation, they guaranteed high food prices and further malnutrition for the poor.

Agriculture in Image and Reality In Canadian hearts, minds, and political speeches, Canada's prime activity was agriculture. The Laurier government promoted settlement of "the Last, Best West" with four-colour advertisements and actual displays of fruit, vegetables, and bushels of golden grain. Canada in 1900 claimed to have 63 million acres of agricultural land, less than half of it "improved" or ready to farm. Two-thirds of farmland was devoted to field crops like wheat, oats, and barley; a third was pasture. Settlers had fled Europe for Canada to achieve what their old countries restricted to very few – land ownership. Almost half a million Canadians farmed their own land, and fifty thousand were tenants. Farms varied in size, of course, by region and what their owners could afford. Three hundred thousand farms ranged in size from 51 to 200 acres, large by European standards, but no guarantee of wealth.

Contemporary propaganda – and later historians – have focused on the prairie West at the outset of the 1900s. A new region was certainly being born, but Ontario was Canada's wheat-growing province with 6,939 million bushels of spring wheat and another 21,879 million bushels in the fall, almost half the national production of 55 million bushels. Manitoba, the most developed western province, produced only 18 million bushels, almost all of it from spring planting. Not even Ontario, with its temperate climate and developed railway network, offered all its farmers a good living, but fewer depended, like Maritimers, Quebeckers, and Westerners, on abandoning their wives and children for the regular winter migration to backwoods lumber shanties or for midsummer labour, between planting and harvest, building branch lines across the prairies.

Farmers saw themselves as the fount of civic virtue, religious faith, and political integrity. A rival vision of a more diversified Canada had threatened them ever since the 1870s depression converted Sir John A. Macdonald to tariff protection for Canadian manufacturers. The tariff issue raged at each election and in countless arguments. Tariff walls raised prices, made fortunes for the wealthy, and stung farmers every time they went to the store to buy something they could not produce or barter.

Debating the Tariff Until a temporary, wartime income tax made its appearance in 1918, tariffs and excise taxes on luxuries provided

THE BEAVER COLLECTION / HELEN BURGESS

Ottawa with almost all the money it needed to run the country and service a growing debt. Behind tariff barriers, British and American companies established branch plants, creating jobs, deploying their existing technology, and sometimes reinvesting the profits they reaped from high Canadian prices to buy out Canadian-owned competitors. Then as now, competitors pocketed the money and lived in comfort, often in a kinder climate, leaving employees and their communities to deal with absentee owners and the new class of professional managers. In 1891, support for "Unrestricted Reciprocity" or free trade with the United States had cost the Liberals what had seemed their best chance ever to beat Macdonald, and Laurier took the message to heart. In 1893, at Canada's first national party convention, Laurier had forced Liberals to abandon the familiar slogan of "Unrestricted Reciprocity." "Imperial Preference" had been his wily alternative.

As the new century dawned, Canada was very much a trading nation. Agricultural products dominated, most of it crossing the oceans to Canada's best market, Great Britain. Americans were already our biggest suppliers, sending $53.6 million in dutiable exports northward in 1901, to Britain's $31.7 million. Then as now, commodity production and price were notoriously uncertain. The century opened with disappointing wheat exports – only 9.7 million bushels worth $6.87 million in 1901, but 26.1 million bushels in 1902 for $18.7 million. The mining industry earned $40.4 million in exports, and lumbering brought in $27.65 million, most of it, National Policy advocates would have boasted, as partially processed boards and deals. They would have been even happier that manufactured goods worth $46 million figured in Canada's $194 million total exports.

Industrial Establishments In 1900, the government boasted 75,968 "industrial establishments," from the CPR's huge Angus shops in east-end Montreal to the local blacksmith. Most of them were at the tiny end of the spectrum. Only 11,126 factories had five or more employees, 1,675 produced goods worth $50,000 or more. They included 419 printing companies, 349 carriagemakers, and 1,097 fish canners. Five factories, with 112 workers, claimed to manufacture refrigerators. The eight buggy-whip factories of 1891 had all vanished.

Core institutions for an entrepreneurial economy were Canada's chartered banks, already encouraged by their own role in drafting a bank act to grow larger rather than more competitive. The biggest, with eighty branches, was the Merchant's Bank, followed by Toronto's Bank of Commerce with seventy-four, the Union Bank with seventy-four and the Bank of Hamilton with fifty-five. Traditionally, the government put its faith and much of its money in the fifty-two-branch Bank of Montreal while johnny-come-latelys from the hinterland, like Nova Scotia's Royal Bank, seemed far too keen on developing in the Caribbean to have a great future in Canada.

As designer of the National Policy, as his tariff policy was known, Sir John A. Macdonald had argued that a great country could not depend on agriculture alone, however vital the farm vote might be. Canada's potential wealth depended on more than furs, logs, and bushels of Ontario winter wheat. It had been a tough choice for a politician who knew that most constituencies in Parliament were dominated by farmers' votes. On the other hand, most of the country's wealth was in its cities and major towns. So were tens of thousands of people whose lives depended on work and wages.

Light and Movement Electricity and railways, two of the developments *La Presse* had signalled, banished the darkness and the isolation that had traditionally closed down Canada for the winter. By 1901, 306 companies delivered power to 12,800 arc lights and 815,676 incandescent lamps, including those Charles Baillargé so proudly exhibited to his friends. An earlier application of electricity, the telegraph, linked Canadians with 80,604 miles of wire in 1901, and handled 4.9 million messages from 2,680 offices. Canadians insisted that the telephone had been invented in Brantford; by 1901, there were 63,192 instruments, served by 14,103 miles of line, delivering 185 million messages, mostly in and between major towns and cities.

In so vast a country, transportation was a huge industry, demanding an enormous investment. The 2,086 miles of railway track at Confederation had grown to 18,868 miles, almost all of it in use. Canada's shipping industry, most of it sail-powered, was shrinking. Once a major ocean shipping power, Canada registered 6,868 vessels at the end of 1900, less than a third of them steam-powered, and most of those serving the Great Lakes. In 1874, Canadian shipyards had launched 490 vessels representing 183,010 tons. In 1900, they completed 297 ships at 22,329 tons. A great national industry was in decline.

Communications would be crucial to the urbanized, industrialized Canada that would emerge in the twentieth century. Its few hundred thousand industrial workers were the force *The Globe* glimpsed as it preached to contemporaries on the future century. The cartoonist in *La Presse* saw farther, even if, by 1900, its images were a little stale.

A century later, Canada had passed out of both its age of agriculture and of industry. Its people would be both trapped and liberated in a web of electronic connectivity that even the science fiction of a hundred years ago could not envisage. Many would be less optimistic than their ancestors about the benefits of inventiveness and a few would be yearning for the "good old days." ◘

Desmond Morton is director of the McGill Institute for the Study of Canada in Montreal.

For a comprehensive look at twentieth-century Canada, see "Our Century," a special edition of the *Beaver*, coming in February/March.

A SPORTSM

PART II: A WILDERNESS BESIEGED

by Karen Wonders

At the end of the nineteenth century, Western Canada's natural splendours, once the lure to European sportsmen, were beginning to disappear. The need to conserve became obvious, and sportsmen, once leaders in a near orgy of slaughter, put themselves in the vanguard of husbanding the wilderness remnants. They were no altruists; ensuring game for sport was their motivation. But as Karen Wonders explains in the conclusion of her two-part article, the self-interest of this tiny sporting elite left an enduring legacy – Canada's distinguished natural history museums and national parks that are the envy of the world.

Europe's sporting elite flooded to Western Canada in the nineteenth century. The region's grasslands, forests, and mountains, little changed by the hand of man, were seen as primordial wilderness, filled with a seemingly inexhaustible supply of game and fish. Particularly among the British, hunting exotic big-game species was a fashionable blood sport, and the collecting of trophy heads was regarded as a status-seeking activity. Sportsmen were seen as "empire builders" who upheld the traditional values of manhood and national dominance in the symbol-laden activity of hunting for pleasure.

But by the end of the nineteenth century, with the coming of the railroad and the growth of settlement, game stocks began rapidly disappearing, forcing a reappraisal of the wilderness and its inhabitants. A long-held belief that wild animals were something to be brought under the dominion of human beings – either through domestication or by market hunting for economic gain – gave way to the romantic idea of wild animals living free in an unspoiled and picturesque wilderness habitat. Native animals of particular regions began to be more commonly referred to as "wildlife" rather than as game or predators. The myth of the abundance of nature gave way to the idea that nature was a limited storehouse. Sportsmen, who had once been at the forefront of an almost unrestricted slaughter, led the way in lobbying government to take a more responsible attitude toward the management of natural resources.

THE BEAVER COLLECTION

In one vital consequence, in the ten-year period from 1885 to 1895, the Canadian government set aside five nature reserves in the Rocky Mountains unavailable for purchase, settlement, or squatting – Banff, Yoho, Glacier, Lake Louise, and Waterton. Following the American example of Yellowstone, created in 1872, these nature reserves were later officially declared national parks, followed by Jasper in 1907, Mount Revelstoke in 1914, and Kootenay in 1920. Also during this period, in an effort to restock the much-depleted big-game species, the Canadian government established eight wildlife sanctuaries in the West, six of which later became national parks.

These parks were, in writer Peter Schmitt's phrase, "cathedrals of the modern world," functioning as icons of the vast wilderness that not so long ago had dominated the North American continent. While the parks preserved picturesque mountain scenery from development, they also served another vital function – preserving big game species for sportsmen, much as the royal forests and private parks of Europe had served the sporting pleasures of the aristocracy from medieval times. Indeed, the preservation of game animals for hunting was a primary motivation for the founding of the Rocky Mountain national parks. Only later, as certain species came closer to extinction, were some national parks, most of them located in Alberta, founded specifically as wildlife sanctuaries or game reserves.

AN'S EDEN

PROVINCIAL ARCHIVES OF ALBERTA / B845

THESE GENTLEMEN PROUDLY DISPLAY THEIR BAG AFTER A DAY'S SHOOTING NEAR EDMONTON IN 1903. GAME BIRDS WERE ABUNDANT ON THE PLAINS PRIOR TO SETTLEMENT, AND GREAT NUMBERS OF THEM WERE KILLED FOR SPORT. BUT BY THE EDWARDIAN ERA, THE CONCEIT THAT NATURE WAS LIMITLESS IN ITS BOUNTY WAS GIVING WAY TO A GROWING CONCERN FOR CONSERVATION.

Initially the Canadian Pacific Railway train route through the Rocky Mountains to the Pacific was to facilitate trade and to encourage western expansionism, as the federal government had a heavy investment in the railroad company. However, CPR promoters quickly seized upon the potential for wilderness tourism offered by the picturesque mountainous region. The success of this venture was assured by the discovery in 1883 of a hot springs along the railroad route. Declared a protected reserve by the government in 1885, the Hot Springs Reserve was promoted as a health spa in the European tradition. In that same year a town site was established in anticipation of tourism generating new industry. Three years later it was called Banff.

Not surprisingly, the coming of the CPR to the Bow Valley in the Rockies was accompanied by widespread habitat destruction and the killing of large numbers of game animals and fish. Concern over the situation led to a government report in 1886 that wasted no words in stating that the "paucity of fish and game" would deprive the area of its "wild attractions" and recommended that action be taken.

Further government legislation was enacted in 1887 declaring an area of 260 square miles surrounding the hot springs as the Rocky Mountains Park. Closely modelled on the 1872 Yellowstone Park Act, it was to be "a public park and pleasure ground for the advantage, benefit, and enjoyment of the people of Canada." The newly created Rocky Mountains Park, with the town of Banff at its heart, now became part of the CPR strategy to attract wealthy tourists and sportsmen to the West.

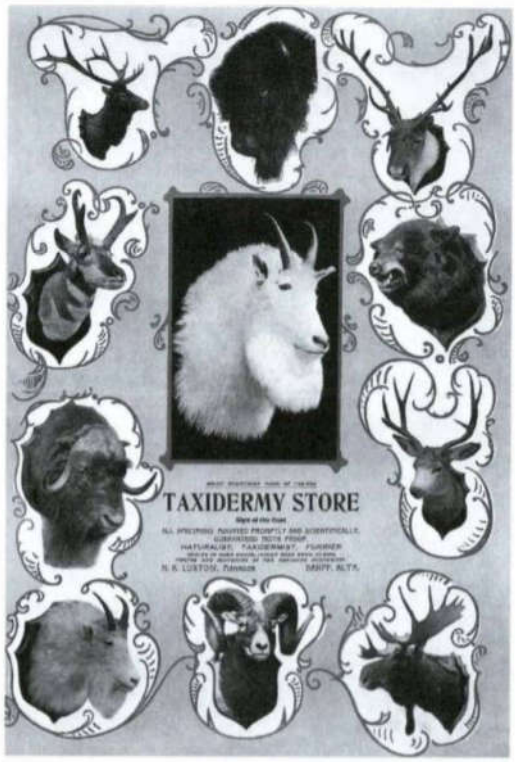
In order to bring tourists to what was advertised as the "Game Paradise of the Canadian Rockies," and following closely on the American example of resort building to increase railway revenue, the CPR created a series of luxury destinations. An 1890 promotional brochure was clearly worded to entice British sportsmen to the area: "if you have lived in India, and tiger hunting has lost its zest, a Rocky Mountain grizzly bear will renew your interest in life."

The 1889 CPR guidebook *Fishing and Shooting* was so popular that by 1904 it was in its twenty-fourth printing. Full of advice for sportsmen, it was illustrated with truncated heads of game animals deemed most desirable—wapiti, grizzly bear, moose, and mountain goat.

To accommodate the foreign sportsmen, local outfitters, guides, and packers began to establish businesses in Banff. Among the first nonnative guides in the Rockies were Bill Peyto, Bill and Jim Brewster, Jimmy Simpson, Tom Wilson, and Norman Luxton. The Sign of the Goat company, run by Luxton, offered to serve visiting sportsmen in every way—as packers, guides, hunters, trappers, taxidermists, and curio collectors.

Clients were attracted by taxidermic displays of Rocky Mountain big-game trophies such as the one prepared by the Brewsters at the 1902 Sportsman's Show in New York City. In 1904 Luxton had a Victorian style building erected for the Sign of the Goat that became a *de facto* museum of taxidermy, exhibiting the big-game species to be found along the CPR route through the Rockies. Later, Luxton established a proper museum in Banff to display his collections.

Several hunting guides and outfitters contributed directly to the preservation of wilderness areas in the Rockies. Among the best known of them was John George "Kootenai" Brown, an Irish army officer who travelled to the Canadian West in 1862 in search of the goldfields of B.C. A few years later he came across several pristine lakes in the Kootenay region at the eastern slopes of the Rockies that greatly enchanted him. The lakes had been discovered only a few years earlier by Blakiston of the Palliser Expedition, who



GLENBOW ARCHIVES / NC-67

WHERE TOURISTS GO, SERVICE INDUSTRIES SOON FOLLOW. NORMAN LUXTON, ONE OF THE FIRST NONNATIVE GUIDES IN THE ROCKIES, ESTABLISHED THE SIGN OF THE GOAT IN TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY BANFF TO SERVE VISITING SPORTSMEN WITH ALL THEIR HUNTING AND SHOOTING NEEDS. BEFORE LONG, IT BECAME AN UNOFFICIAL MUSEUM OF TAXIDERMY, A LURE TO CLIENTS WHO WERE ATTRACTED BY EXAMPLES OF THE BIG-GAME TROPHIES THEY, TOO, MIGHT ACHIEVE FOR THEMSELVES.

named them after Charles Waterton, an early English conservationist and bird-lover.

Brown continued to hunt buffalo and wolves in the region and worked as a mail dispatcher across the U.S. border in Montana where he was captured by Sitting Bull and narrowly escaped death. In 1874 he returned to Waterton Lakes and began a campaign to protect the picturesque and game-rich area.

His efforts were rewarded in 1895 with the establishing of Waterton Lakes Forest Reserve. In 1911 the reserve was made a national park and Brown appointed its first warden. With the support of the Camp Fire Club of America, Brown successfully lobbied to enlarge the park in the interests of game preservation, and in 1914 Waterton Lakes National Park was made contiguous with the international boundary and Glacier National Park in the U.S.

Along with hunting and fishing in the Rocky Mountains, climbing and trail riding were encouraged by the CPR. Such rugged outdoor recreation often included the hunting of big-game species that inhabited the higher elevations. With CPR support, the Canadian Alpine Club was founded in 1906 by A.O. Wheeler, a surveyor, climber, and sportsman. CPR photographer Byron Harmon recorded the big game killed during a number of these climbing and hunting expeditions. One such photograph, labeled "one day's hunt," was taken during the 1910 Bugaboo Expedition and shows Wheeler posed on a high mountainside with three dead grizzlies.

Needless to say the federal government cooperated with the marketing of the West as "a sportsman's Eden." For the International Exhibition in Liége in 1905, the Department of Agriculture prepared a publication on Canada which boasted that "in the Far West abundant trophies of the chase can yet be obtained by the adventurous sportsman." The Department of the Interior published promotional books to the same effect, emphasizing the opportunities for sport offered by game animals and fish.

Like the CPR, the Canadian National Railways was keen to profit from wilderness tourism. In a 1930 publication it described the Canadian West as a hunting grounds for big game and game birds no longer found in the rest of North America, and it pledged to accommodate the "Sons of Nimrod" who were its customers in every way. Marketing the wilderness this way lasted until the Second World War, with the federal government commissioning films promoting hunting and fishing in the Rocky Mountains until well into the '30s.

Despite the promotion of the West as the "sportsman's Eden," hunting rights grew to become a controversial and complicated issue. More often than not, different governmental departments opposed each other over game management, both in the national parks and in the surrounding forestry reserves. Added to that was the considerable pressure of CPR-generated tourism as well as the local outfitters and guides who made their living from the wildlife. The desire to preserve game animals for hunting as a way of promoting tourism, not conservation for its own sake, had, after all, been the fundamental reason for founding the Rocky Mountain national parks. But with the passing of the National Parks Act in 1930, a greater effort to enforce hunting and fishing regulations was made.

The first federally controlled area to be enclosed as a game reserve was located near Edmonton. Established in 1906 to protect about twenty head of elk, it was designated as Elk Island National Park in 1913. A second game reserve near Wainwright, Buffalo National Park, was founded in 1909 as a sanctuary for some three hundred head of plains buffalo, the largest surviving group of this species in the world.

The so-called "Pablo herd" had been privately owned in Montana, but when its rangeland was opened for settlement, the owner was forced to disperse the buffalo. The Canadian government bought

the herd, and between 1907 and 1911 transported the buffalo to Alberta by train with the assistance of Banff outfitter Norman Luxton. In addition, between 1914 and 1916 four game reserves were established in the West specifically for pronghorn sheep. Three of these reserves were declared national parks in 1922 – Nesmiskam and Wawaskesy in Alberta, and Menissawok in Saskatchewan.

The idea of establishing a national park to save the last remnant of wild buffalo in North America, the buffalo-of-the-wood subspecies, was first raised in 1907. The subspecies, members of which are larger than the more commonly known plains bison, had been described by the early explorers, most of whom reported seeing and killing "wood" buffalo in the Rocky Mountains. Palliser was the last to report seeing live wood buffalo in the Rockies in 1858 – after that the species was believed to be close to extinction.

In 1898, however, a small herd of wood buffalo was rediscovered in the region that straddles Alberta and the Northwest Territories. To protect the herd, the region was established in 1922 as a national park. Today, Wood Buffalo National Park remains Canada's largest and the world's second largest national park. With the near extinction of the plains bison (the wood buffalo almost succumbed yet again in the 1920s due to a poor management program) and their consequent incarceration as semi-domesticated animals, the romance of the buffalo as an object of "noble" sport is forever gone.

At the same time that national parks were being established in the Canadian West to preserve certain game species in the wild, the collecting of zoological specimens for museum exhibitions became more widespread. The museum movement began with the founding of large national museums of natural history in the urban centres of Europe and the U.S. during the late nineteenth century and soon spread to colonial countries such as Canada.

Natural history collecting in Victorian society was viewed as a fashionable and respectable pursuit that contributed to science while at the same time encouraging aesthetic and religious sentiment. With the establishment of large government-supported museums of natural history in the urban capitals of Europe and the U.S., more complete zoological collections were sought for both scientific examination and public display. The wilderness territories of British North America were viewed as a prime collecting grounds, particularly by the British Museum and the Smithsonian Institution.

Recent research concludes that between 1859 and 1866, over eleven thousand zoological specimens were sent to the Smithsonian Institution by fur traders and trappers working for the HBC who had been recruited as collectors by museum scientists.

As global travel became less difficult, sportsmen in search of adventure and a chance to prove their hunting ability began to either accompany or initiate museum collecting expeditions to remote corners of the world. The sportsman and museum collector were often alike in their eagerness to collect the best, the largest, or the most unusual specimen. Big-game specimens, in particular, gained much prestige as desirable objects. During this period taxidermy developed into an art form and was exhibited for its own sake, like fine arts sculpture, at international exhibitions.

In North America, natural history was also the most accessible subject to study and collect. Such was natural history's social prestige during the Victorian era that a collection of Canadian minerals, displayed at London's Crystal Palace in 1851, resulted in William Edmond Logan becoming the first Canadian-born scientist inducted into the Royal Society of London. Later knighted, Logan also founded a geological museum in Montreal and in 1842 was appointed director of Canada's first scientific institution, the Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada. A number of the survey members, including the geologist George M. Dawson and the naturalist John Macoun, were of particular importance to the settlement of the West.

As a result of extensive cross-continent collecting efforts by members of the survey, large collections of

HUNTING BIG-GAME SPECIES AT HIGHER ELEVATIONS WAS PART OF THE ATTRACTION OF THE ROCKIES FOR INTREPID SPORTSMEN. HERE, SURVEYOR AND CLIMBER A.O. WHEELER (LEFT), FOUNDER IN 1906 OF THE CANADIAN ALPINE CLUB, POSES ON A HIGH MOUNTAINSIDE WITH THREE DEAD GRIZZLIES.

specimens and artifacts were secured for the Dominion of Canada. These national collections were not given a separate museum building until 1911 when the Victoria Memorial Museum was erected in Ottawa. Five years later, the museum building was reappropriated by Parliament and the collections were put in storage until 1927. Considering the shabby treatment given the national museum, it is all the more impressive that in the sparsely populated and unsettled wilderness of the West, there were at least four museums established prior to 1911 – one in British Columbia and three in Alberta.

The first, the Provincial Museum of Natural History and Anthropology, as it was originally called, was established in 1886 in Victoria. Instrumental in its founding was hunter and naturalist-collector John Fannin, who served as the first museum curator until his death in 1904.

Travelling to B.C. from Ontario in 1862 with the fabled Overlanders, Fannin was one of the first settlers to battle his way through the mountain wilderness. For a couple of decades, he continued to explore and hunt in B.C.'s interior, sometimes employed as a government surveyor, sometimes as a hunting guide for visiting sportsmen. During this period he collected enough zoological specimens to build up an impressive collection. When the railroad opened up the province, collectors flooded in searching for natural history specimens and human artifacts to take back with them to the U.S. and Europe. Partly to lay claim to some of the valuable material leaving the province, while at the same time promoting the exploitation of its natural resources by outside investors, the Provincial Museum (today called the Royal British Columbia Museum) was established with a mandate dedicated to the preservation, classification, and exhibition of both scientific specimens and ethnographic artifacts. Fannin's collection of trophy-sized big-game specimens served as the basis for the new museum and gained an international reputation among sportsmen and scientists. In fact, William Hornaday, director of the New York Zoological Society, even bestowed on Fannin the much coveted honour of having a species named after its discoverer. Fannin's Mountain Sheep (*Ovis fannini*) quickly became one of the most eagerly sought big-game trophies

Picturing the Wilderness

During the early part of this century, as native Canadian flora and fauna came to be associated with nationalistic pride, wilderness scenery became a subject worthy of artistic expression and invested with special aesthetic value. Ideas of the sublime and aesthetic beauty of nature gave birth in the early nineteenth century to European Romanticism, which thrived in the U.S. where wilderness scenery provided the inspiration for the first native school of painting to emerge, the so-called Hudson River School. It produced such artists as Frederick Church, Thomas Moran, and Albert Bierstadt, who became known for their panoramic mountain landscapes laden with spiritual and symbolic associations.

Through new techniques in mass imagemaking, landscape representations of the western wilderness took on a new significance, leading indirectly to the creation of Yellowstone National Park in 1872 – the first of its kind in the world and a model for Canada's first national park. Magnificent mountain scenery also spurred the first national school of art to emerge in Canada, described by historian E.J. Hart as "the railway school." The Canadian Pacific Railway commissioned photographers and eminent artists such as John Fraser and Lucius O'Brian to capture the picturesque views along the railway route through the Rocky Mountains.

Moose, oil painting by Carl Rungius

Soon to follow, as the new century unfolded, was the Group of Seven, whose more modern approach to landscape painting also found expression in the mountain landscapes of the Canadian Rockies. An interesting difference to note is that unlike American landscape painters, Canadian landscape artists were inspired by a wilderness scenery that had already been preserved in national parks *before* it became pictorialized by painters and photographers.

Wilderness hunters were also attracted to the West for its painting possibilities, such as the prominent German-born painter of big game, Carl Rungius, and Belmore Browne, an American explorer and painter of mountain landscapes and museum dioramas. Both artists established studios in Banff in the early 1920s, which they maintained for several decades. Although the paintings by Rungius have become associated with a landscape aesthetic, the scenery is intended primarily as a backdrop for the game animals that more correctly reflect the popular iconology of nineteenth-century English animal painter Edwin Landseer in their appeal to the sportsman. The CPR frequently used works by the much honoured painter (both Roosevelt and Hornaday were Rungius's patrons), for its advertising brochures. He even had a grizzly subspecies named after him (*Ursus horribilis canadensis rungiusi*) in 1918 – although it was later considered conspecific with the European brown bear.

COLLECTION OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM, VICTORIA, CIRCA 1898.
HUNTER AND COLLECTOR JOHN FANNIN'S EXTENSIVE COLLECTION OF ZOOLOGICAL SPECIMENS WAS INSTRUMENTAL TO THE FOUNDING OF THE PROVINCIAL MUSEUM IN VICTORIA (TODAY'S ROYAL BRITISH COLUMBIA MUSEUM).

by visiting sportsmen from all over the world.

In Alberta, one of the earliest museums was founded by Dr. Henry George, an English-born medical doctor and member of the Royal College of Surgeons who emigrated to the Canadian West in 1889 to set up one of the first medical practices in Calgary.

During his years in the West, George amassed a broad collection of natural history specimens including mounted animals and birds, shells, butterflies, moths, birds' eggs, insects, pressed plants and geological samples, as well as a substantial collection of heads and horns, representing trophy specimens of the native big-game species.

The doctor's collection was first displayed publicly in 1893, when he opened a museum in Innisfail, a small town where he'd moved from Calgary. A third move, to Red Deer, gave George the opportunity to build a two-storey addition to his home to accommodate his many artifacts, and in 1907, The George Museum opened to the public as a museum and library.

This was in keeping with the eighteenth-century Enlightenment tradition of examining accepted doctrines through the use of reason, which led to private collections being used as instruments for scholarly enquiry. George juxtaposed natural-history specimens, wildflower paintings, and big-game trophies in the integrated exhibition philosophy of "rational amusement" that characterized early museum development in the New World. When the George Museum was dispersed in the 1920s, the bulk of his collection was donated to the Calgary Natural History and Arts Museum.

Established in 1911, the Calgary Museum, like its counterpart in Victoria, was an attempt to keep valuable and irreplaceable natural history specimens in Alberta. With temporary housing first in the public library, then in the basement of the courthouse, the museum included a number of departments headed by enthusiastic amateur naturalists and boasted a collection of big-game animals, over 130 mostly native bird species, an outstanding butterfly collection, as well as geological specimens, paleontological and archaeological artifacts, and fine art. Without its own building and in the face of financial difficulties borne of the Depression, however, the Calgary Museum closed in 1935 and the collection put into storage. In 1948, with many objects destroyed through neglect or lost, the remaining collection was burned or otherwise destroyed.

Compensation, however, appeared to come with the arrival of Eric Lafferty Harvie, a Canadian-born settler who came to Calgary from Ontario in 1911 and in the '30s made his fortune from the emerging petroleum industry. An enthusiastic sportsman who enjoyed angling and shooting game birds at his Glenbow Ranch in the foothills west of Calgary, Harvie

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amassed a substantial collection of natural history specimens, art works, and books that reflected the popular conception of the Canadian West as a sportsman's Eden. Harvie initiated a private foundation in 1954 to care for this collection, and in 1966 donated it to the people of Alberta as the Glenbow-Alberta Institute (today known simply as the Glenbow). However, in the years since the Glenbow's founding, a revised mandate has led to a deaccessioning of its natural history collection.

Harvie was also a great friend of Norman K. Luxton and assisted him in establishing the former Luxton Museum in Banff in 1954. Luxton was also a big-game hunter, outfitter, and guide as well as a collector of Rocky Mountain trophies and ethnological artifacts. It is revealing that neither Harvie or Luxton distinguished between natural history and social history: scientific specimens, hunting trophies, and cultural artifacts were sought in the same integrated collecting philosophy that characterized early North American museum development and made it different from the specialized character of European collections that isolated objects of art and science. The Luxton Museum and its collections reflected this philosophy. Luxton left his museum to Harvie after his death in 1955 and Harvie included it as part of his legacy for Glenbow.

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ERIC HARVIE (LEFT) WITH NORMAN LUXTON AT THE OPENING OF THE LUXTON MUSEUM IN BANFF, 1955. AFTER LUXTON'S DEATH, THE MUSEUM WENT TO HARVIE, WHO INCLUDED ITS COLLECTION AS PART OF HIS LEGACY TO THE GLENBOW. IN THE EARLY DECADES OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, THE MUSK OX WAS ONE OF THE MOST SOUGHT-AFTER TROPHIES.

Elsewhere, the Rocky Mountains Park Museum in Banff was established by the federal government in 1895. Many of the natural history specimens on display were collected by naturalist John Macoun, who had been sent from Ottawa on a collecting expedition to the Rocky Mountains in 1891 in order to assemble specimens for the planned museum.

In 1903 the federal government erected a new museum building on a picturesque and prominent site on the north bank of the Bow River. An impressive log building, it was designed in the rustic style of a European hunting lodge and constructed entirely of native Douglas fir. The new museum was intended to act as an "emblematic ornament to the Rocky Mountains Park of Canada," and, like the Provincial Museum in Victoria, conceived primarily to draw attention to the variety of game species native to the region as well as exhibit displays of butterflies, insects, flowers, plants, crystals, and fossils.

According to a newspaper report, the animals on display not only included everything "known to the hunter of the Canadian Northwest," all of them were "killed within a radius of 150 miles around Banff." Also on exhibition were about twenty trophy heads, and lording over the centre of the museum was a magnificent wapiti with a full set of antlers. Of particular interest was an enormous buffalo head, known as "Sir Donald, the Patriarch," a vestige of one of the last wild plains buffalo, which had been captured as a calf in 1872.

Additional attractions included displays of living Rocky Mountain wildlife enclosed in cages on the museum grounds and in a paddock located just outside of Banff. For many visitors, this was their only encounter with species long associated with the mythology of the Western Canadian wilderness. Later, as national parks and their wildlife inhabitants became synonymous, the confining of captured animals was no longer an accepted practice.

Today, as B.C. conservationist and sportsman Roger Haig-Brown argues, we want our national parks to be inviolate and the wildlife inviolable. Yet to what extent do we really value the wilderness heritage that was celebrated in the early natural history museums of the West? The very necessity to create national parks as nature sanctuaries belies the fact that already by the turn of the century the western wilderness needed protection from the ravages of civilization.

A recent Brookings Institution study on preserving the national parks of North America has questioned the lack of deference toward the founding ideals of Canada's national parks, and concludes that it resulted both from a traditional Canadian perception of the wilderness (because there is an abundance, it is not valued) and from the role of the provincial governments (local politicians favour development over preservation).

Nowhere do we see this more clearly than in Banff, the prima donna of national icons, where overdevelopment threatens the survival of one of the world's first and most magnificent national parks. "Night life, not wildlife, drawing visitors to Banff" states an article that appeared on the front page of the July 5, 1999 edition of the *Globe and Mail*. In contrast, it cites the example of Yellowstone National Park, where the aim is to lessen human impact and preserve its identity as a wilderness sanctuary. With over eight thousand year-round residents, over four million annual visitors, a booming ski industry, and the bumper-to-bumper bisecting Trans-Canada Highway, Banff National Park is indeed a wilderness besieged.

Karen Wonders is a historian of art and science with a doctorate from Sweden's Uppsala University. She currently holds a research fellowship at the University of Goettingen in Germany. Among her publications is *Habitat Dioramas: Illusions of Wilderness in Museums of Natural History* (Stockholm, 1993).

The Pierre Berton Award

Canada's National History Society established an award in 1994 for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. Canadian writer and popular author, Pierre Berton, was the first recipient. Mr. Berton agreed to having his name associated with the award in subsequent years.

In addition to Mr. Berton, other recipients of the Award are:

James H. Gray, Calgary, 1995
Jacques Lacoursière, Quebec City, 1996
The CRB Foundation, Montreal, 1997
Bob Johnstone, Toronto, 1998
Peter C. Newman, British Columbia, 1999

Individuals or organizations that have helped popularize Canadian history, through such means as publications, film, radio and television, theatre or volunteer service may be nominated.

Nominations are now being accepted for the 2000 Pierre Berton Award. In addition to a name and address of the nominee, nominations must be accompanied by detailed information in support of the candidate. A biography or curriculum vitae, newspaper or magazine articles, or letters of support outlining the achievements of the nominee would be welcome.

Nominations for the 2000 Pierre Berton Award must be received by May 26, 2000 and should be sent to:

The Pierre Berton Award
Canada's National History Society
478–167 Lombard Avenue
Winnipeg, Manitoba R3B 0T6

If you require further information on the Award, please contact the Society at the above address, or

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Off Stage: *Sara Mallaba*

One day in 1904, a young widow named Sara Mallabar went to visit a Winnipeg fortune-teller. Two years earlier she and her four children had returned to home from Mexico, where she and her late husband John had gone to live more than a decade earlier seeking a cure for his tuberculosis. She had met John Mallabar in the late 1880s. He had been a young Englishman, a bookkeeper at a Winnipeg dry goods firm where they both worked. In 1889 they had married, then moved to Brandon, Manitoba to open their own dry goods business. But Mexico had seemed a natural destination when John was diagnosed with TB. The climate was warm and dry, and Sara's two brothers, William and James Scott, were already there working on the railway. In addition, William had set up a bicycle shop at San Luis Potosi, a railway junction 240 kilometres northeast of Mexico City, which John Mallabar purchased and expanded into work clothes and other dry-goods items. But in 1899, misfortune struck. Both Sara's brothers were killed in railways accidents. Two years later, John died.

Making her way to the fortuneteller's, Sara could look back on two years of hardship in the wake of her husband's death. She had found herself alone in a foreign country with four children under the age of twelve, but she had carried on, continuing to order goods, shoes, and clothing for the San Luis Potosi store. After a year, however, she had had enough. She was far away from the rest of her family, and the business wasn't sufficiently successful to keep her in Mexico. She elected to return to Winnipeg. Sara's sisters Jane and Isabel came and fetched two of the children home while Sara and the other two made their own way north via New York City.

With her settlement from John's insurance, Sara was able to set herself up as a beautician, advertising in the weekly Winnipeg social newspaper, *Town Topics*. But the venture, failing to generate enough money to support an entire family, lasted only a year. Sara, strong-willed and indomitable, had the qualities to be successful. But she also tended to be superstitious. She would, for instance, never travel or start a project on a Friday. So it was not surprising that in seeking some direction in her life she decided to visit a fortune-teller.

According to the vision summoned by the fortuneteller, Sara would soon find herself working in "an odd business with lots of clothes." On the strength of this, she borrowed $300 and bought into an existing dressmaking shop. But before long, she began to shift the enterprise in a new direction. The Winnipeg she and her husband had left in 1889 had had fewer than 25,000 people and was on the brink of an economic depression. The Winnipeg to which she returned in 1902, she couldn't help noticing, was in the middle of an unprecedented economic boom that would see its population grow sixfold before the outbreak of World War II. It was a golden age of live entertainment, and Sara sensed opportunity in the thriving local scene. There were continuous local and touring productions at the Winnipeg Theatre, which was managed by impresario C.P. Walker. Two other major theatres presented touring shows and vaudeville from as far away as New York, while such things as amateur minstrel shows, popular fundraisers for clubs and churches, provided a steady market for costume rental.

If spurred by superstition, Sara's decision to buy a dressmaking shop proved canny. By 1906, she was the proprietor of S. Mallabar, Costumer and Hair Goods. Though rarely seen on stage, a *grande dame* of the Canadian theatre was born. Mallabar's would go on to become synonymous in many parts of Canada with performance costuming and apparel for formal occa-

r's Legacy

by Rosemary Malaher

COURTESY MARY MALLABAR FAMILY

Sara Mallabar (right) was the daughter of James Scott, who in 1879 came to Winnipeg from Quebec in advance of his wife, Mary Jane, to work as a bridge builder for the CPR. Sara married John Mallabar, a bookkeeper at a Winnipeg dry goods firm, in 1889, and a few years later moved to Mexico. This picture was taken shortly after her husband's death in 1901. Left to right are their four children, John, Tanyss, James and Henry.

sions, as familiar to generations of Canadians as Eaton's or The Bay. Until the 1970s, few theatrical productions hit the boards without costumes by Mallabar's, few lavish Hallowe'en parties were complete without costumes by Mallabar's, and later, few weddings or graduations occurred without rental tuxedos from Mallabar's stores in Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec.

In the beginning, to drum up some business, Sara persuaded a church group to put on *The Chimes of Normandy*, a popular prewar musical for which she provided the complete costuming. But her prowess with a needle, her eye for beautiful satins and laces, and her ability to combine all into striking costumes soon caught the eye of the burgeoning entertainment establishment. In 1908, *The Chimes of Normandy* again turned up in Winnipeg, this time performed by the Winnipeg Operatic Society, with Mrs. C.P. Walker as stage director, later to tour Brandon and Portage la Prairie. One presumes that in the intimate world of Winnipeg theatre, the Walkers and Sara Mallabar were well acquainted and had a satisfying business arrangement.

In April 1910, the newspapers extensively covered a musical comedy, *Miss Pepple of New York*, written and produced in Winnipeg. A showcase for local talent, it included costumes by Mallabar's. The *Free Press* reported, "The costumes were a very distinctive feature of the production and were the clever work of Mrs. Malabar [*sic*] to whose reputation as a costumier they have considerably added." A 1920s-era Mallabar's catalogue lists costumes available for six Gilbert and Sullivan operettas and eight other titles.

The Winnipeg Light Opera Society's Christmas 1934 production of *The Chocolate Soldier* at the Walker Theatre, including among its cast Sara's eldest son, John (front row, sixth from left). Based on George Bernard Shaw's *Arms and the Man* with music by Viennese composer Oscar Strauss, the operetta was a perennial favourite in the interwar period when musical comedy was a staple of entertainment. A "charming affair" declared the reviewer in the *Winnipeg Free Press*, who described *The Chocolate Soldier*'s costumes as "fresh and attractive."

As the business became established, Sara was able to reunite her family, who had been cared for by her sisters, and by the early teens, Mallabar's had become a family affair, with living quarters above the shop in downtown Winnipeg. James, the oldest son, assembled costumes for shows, did the bookkeeping, and got out catalogues illustrating individual costumes, creating a strong mail-order business. The younger boys, Jack and Harry, pulled loaded toboggans through the snow-filled streets to the CPR station to ship costumes to Kamloops, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, and Dryden among other places. Sara had established a viable business, doing whatever necessary to provide what a customer wanted, even if it meant sewing all night. She kept the costumes meticulously clean and the collection current, weeding out deteriorating items. Through her meticulousness, she assured the long-term success of the company.

In spite of her flair for the stage, she was not a social person – her main enjoyment was being with the family. Once asked if she wouldn't like to remarry, she replied, "Only a fool would marry a widow with four children, and I don't want to marry a fool."

World War I took both Jack and Jim to Europe. Afterwards, Jack opted for dentistry, but Jim stayed on, taking a larger role in running the store. Business was going well (a line of theatrical make-up was added to their inventory), but before long it became evident revenues were too small to support a growing family. Expansion was key and Harry moved to Toronto to establish a branch store. Important customers in the early days were the Toronto Skating Club and several towns such as London, Hamilton, and St. Catharines, which held historical pageants in the summer. Before long, Sara joined her son in Toronto as the enterprise grew.

Because complete shows were shipped back and forth across Canada, having establishments in both Winnipeg and Toronto proved wise. During the twenties, there was a great wealth of musical comedies being produced, and Mallabar's supplied costumes for such popular shows as Victor Herbert's *The Red Mill*, Rudolf Frimi's *Rose Marie*, and Sigmund Romberg's *The Student Prince* – perennial favourites, produced well into the 1950s. And there was always Gilbert and Sullivan.

In the run-up to Canada's Centennial year, 1967 ... three hundred John A. Macdonald impersonators were abroad in the land ... all of them [wearing] suits from Mallabar's.

In the late twenties, Mallabar's added tuxedo rentals to take advantage of the summer wedding trade, and in 1932 Sarah and her daughter Tanyss opened a branch in Montreal, where the many opera companies in the area provided a ready costume market. When Sherbrook, Quebec held a summer-long pageant for its centennial celebrations in 1937, the whole Mallabar family took up residence for six weeks and outfitted all the historical characters. During the war, Mallabar's maintained business by providing costumes for Hallowe'en, Santa Claus parades, and Air Force shows by the Rip Cords. The Toronto Rowing Club produced an annual vaudeville show.

In Montreal, Sara would walk from her home at Beaver Hall Hill to the store at Notre Dame and McGill every day, often passing through Simpson's to keep abreast of the fashions. She never really retired. Her work was where her children were, and she was involved in every aspect of the business until near the end of her life. She died in December 1953 at age ninety-one.

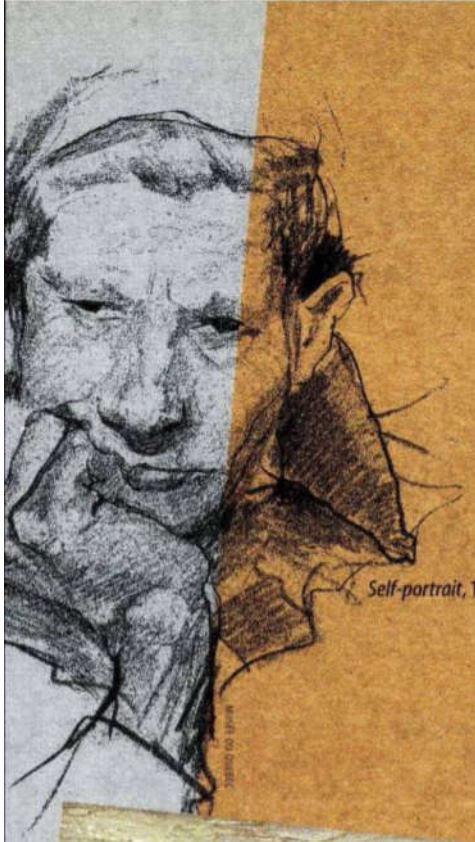
The business continued to expand in the postwar period as the number of theatres and productions grew, particularly in the run-up to Canada's Centennial year, 1967. That year a subtle tribute was paid to the company that Sara Mallabar founded. Three hundred John A. Macdonald impersonators were abroad in the land during the festivities. All of them wore suits from Mallabar's.

Rosemary Malaher is a Winnipeg writer and a past president of the Manitoba Historical Society.

Un Solitaire

The Life and Art of René Richard

"And if I had to start all over again, I would do exactly the same thing. I loved and chose the life that I had. I would never change it for another."



Self-portrait, 1930

by Simone Chaput

It is a curious fact that the artist who first depicted the Great Canadian North "as it should be"* is largely overlooked in English Canada. In Quebec, and in some parts of the North, the life of René Richard has become the stuff of legend. Tales of the exploits of "Slim"—Richard was a tall, gaunt reed of a man—turn up again and again, just like the sketches and paintings he traded for supplies or left as tokens of appreciation in trappers' cabins throughout the North. Few, if any, of the rugged Europeans who slapped down pelts on the counters of Révillon Frères Trading Company did so in exchange for paper and paint, or worked traplines to pay for passage overseas and for art classes in Paris. But René Richard did: for this reason alone, he holds a unique place among the trappers and woodsmen of the North. The story of his legendary life, however, does not overshadow the importance of the paintings, sketches, charcoal drawings, and lithographs of northern and aboriginal ways that he left behind. It is this legacy that claims for Richard the honour of being the great portrayer of the Canadian North.

Clarence Gagnon proved to be an astute judge of character when he urged Richard to leave the crowded streets of Paris and go off to the mountains to paint. He had caught a glimpse of Richard's wild soul, the spirit that had been shaped by the untamed country around Cold Lake in northern Alberta. Born in La Chaux-de-Fonds, Switzerland in 1895, Richard had immigrated to Canada with his family in the early years of the century. As a boy, he had learned to love the freedom and exhilaration of life in the wilderness, had begun to dream of becoming a coureur de bois, surrounded by the quiet beauty of forests, rivers, and lakes. But soon, hunting, fishing, and trapping in the wilds of the North were not enough: he began to feel driven by the need to capture in his sketchbook the poetry of the natural world.

In January 1927, Richard boarded the *De Grasse* in New York and set sail for Paris and the Grande

*Clarence Gagnon, in a letter to René Richard's father, Jean-Paul, in 1928.

Left, top: *Cold Lake*, oil on wood board, 1934

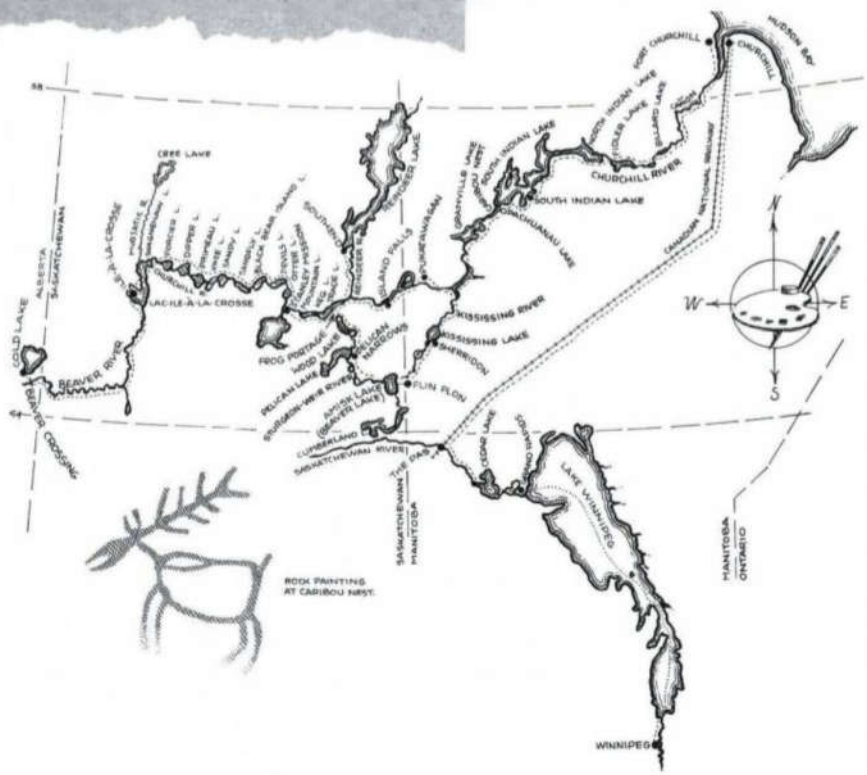
Left, bottom: *Deux chiens attelés*, coloured pencil on brown paper

"Deep down, trappers are everywhere the same throughout the North, from the Mackenzie Delta to Churchill. Decent and hospitable, useful and easy going, they are always ready to help someone in need, to give him advice ... and to make him laugh."

Indienne, charcoal on brown paper

Le campement, ink on brown paper

Below: Winnipeg illustrator Réal Berard's artistic interpretation of Richard's travels through northern Saskatchewan and Manitoba in the 1930s. Berard, who like Richard sketches and draws from a canoe, has recently been retracing the artist's route.



Chaumière, determined to become an artist. Three years of good trapping in the Mackenzie Delta had provided him with sufficient funds to pay his way. In Paris, Richard was introduced to Clarence Gagnon, "the pictorial bard of rural Québec," who quickly became his friend and mentor. At the time, Gagnon was working on illustrations for two novels, *Maria Chapdelaine* and *Le grand silence blanc*; Richard was impressed with the "graphic eloquence" of Gagnon's "miniature masterpieces." (Many years later, Richard himself would be called upon to illustrate *Menaud, maître-draveur* by Félix-Antoine Savard, and *La montagne secrète*, a novel by the celebrated Canadian author Gabrielle Roy. To ornament Roy's allegorical tale, Richard created a series of lithographs and drawings in pen and ink, charcoal and pencil crayon: quick studies of trappers and camps, natives and dog teams, executed in the bold, economical strokes that are his trademark. Early on in his career, and later at the Colarossi Academy in Paris, Richard had trained himself to make quick sketches. The line drawings he would later make from his canoe, or during a pause on a portage, would be the basis of the full-scale paintings he would then create in his studio.)

It was on Gagnon's advice that Richard went, first, on summer sketching expeditions to the Alps and the Haute-Savoie in France and finally, back home to Canada in 1930. After spending three years in exile, Richard proposed to celebrate his return from civilization with a bold undertaking: to paddle down the Churchill River, starting from the Beaver River, approximately sixteen kilometres from Cold Lake in Northern Alberta, to its mouth on Hudson Bay. On a warm August afternoon, he slipped on his comfortable old clothes, packed his shotgun, some provisions, a piece of tent canvas and a sleeping roll, and headed out for the wilderness in a birchbark canoe, bought at a native village for twenty-five dollars.

On September 1, after having travelled straight north for thirteen days, he arrived at Lac Ile-à-la-Crosse, the first big lake on the Churchill River. He

met two trappers there whose stories of the river's treacherous currents and 250 portages couldn't deter him. He paddled on to Stanley Mission, where a factor for Révillon Frères gave him shelter for the night as well as an old, incomplete map of the region he would be travelling through. At Pelican Narrows, as he was to do time and time again, Richard gave one of his drawings to a merchant in return for hospitality. His sketches proved to be a good commodity in the North: they could be exchanged for food or given as gifts; they could even be sold for good hard cash. At the Narrows, an RCMP officer asked Richard to pen him a sketch of the village. The Mountie paid him three dollars for his work, and a delighted Richard immediately headed back to the village trading post to buy paper and coloured pencils. When he left a few days later, he still had $1.75 in his pocket.

In Saskatchewan, after crossing Beaver Lake nonstop, Richard paddled into a smaller lake but searched in vain for the portage out. He hid his canoe and, without a compass or a reliable map, left on foot for Flin Flon, Manitoba, about twenty-five kilometres to the south. At the end of a long day's walk, he arrived at the village, where he found a hotel room for one dollar. The next day, he spent his remaining seventy-five cents on pie and coffee.

Charley Dysart (far right), an old coureur de bois, dissuaded Richard from paddling the Churchill River so late in the season in 1931. Too many risks for the sake of a few sketches, he said. Richard spent the winter of 1931–32 in the Flin Flon area, trapping, hunting, and painting.

In Flin Flon, Richard met up with Dick Demeriez, the friend with whom he had trapped in the Mackenzie Delta. He spent the winter of 1930 sketching by the fire in Dick's cabin or drawing the varied and sometimes outrageous clients of the village pub. One of his favourite models was Louis Rass, a former inmate, sentenced to life imprisonment for a murder he didn't commit and pardoned after serving fourteen years.

In return for work at his mining claim during the summer of 1931, Dick gave Richard the canoe, food, and art supplies he would need to travel on to Hudson Bay. Two weeks after his departure from Flin Flon, Richard landed at Pukatawagan on the Churchill River, where a Hudson Bay factor gave him hospitality. Richard began to sketch the natives living around the post. When they saw him skulking around their tents with his paper and pencil, they took fright and denounced him as a sorcerer to the village priest. Reassured by the good father, the natives soon allowed Richard to come into their tents and sketch mothers with their children.

On the Churchill once again, Slim met up with Charley Dysart, an old coureur de bois, who was paddling upriver. When Richard confided his plans to him, Charley declared it was too late in the season to travel to the mouth of the

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river – Slim's canoe was too small, there were too many portages, the water was too cold; in short, he would be running too many risks just for the sake of a few sketches. Charley declared he would not leave till Slim agreed to give up his crazy scheme. In the face of such conviction, Richard had no choice but to give in: he retraced his steps to Flin Flon.

In February, 1932, Richard set out for a season of trapping and hunting in the area east of Reindeer Lake, lake of 1,600 islands, on the border between Manitoba and Saskatchewan. When the weather was bad, he spent his time working with pencils and oils, scratching old paintings off his small hardboard panels to make place for new ones. In June, when the lake was clear of ice, he traded his dogsled for a canoe and paddled into Reindeer Lake and to the Révillon Frères trading post to exchange his furs for money. Once he had paid off all the debts he had incurred at Island Falls the previous autumn, he was left with two dollars in his pocket.

That summer, Richard picked up his art supplies at Dick's cabin before making his way to Kississing to visit with native friends in Sherridon. He spent his time there sketching and painting, and in the autumn, went back to Island Falls to prepare for another winter of trapping. By December, he had twenty-five fox skins and, by June of 1933, had earned enough to take on the Churchill again.

Heading north, he made Southern Indian Lake after several days of paddling, then, continuing down the Churchill, arrived at Northern Indian Lake. Disturbed by the sadness and the hostility of the place, Richard made a few sketches of a cabin perched on a hill, lost in a sea of black spruce. As the river rushed down to the bay, its roiling waters became treacherous. Despite the dangers, Richard pushed on through a desolate landscape, dotted with dwarf trees: he was impatient to get to Hudson Bay, more than 350 kilometres away.

Shooting rapids, navigating the eddies and rough waters between falls, Richard's canoe was time and again threatened with destruction. The repeated portages and the constant struggle against fast water took their toll. At night, an exhausted Richard would steal a few hours' sleep before facing the furious river once more. One morning in August, he awoke to excruciating back pain; determined to travel on to his destination, he had no choice but to lighten his load before moving on. Keeping only the essentials, including, of course, his art supplies and sketches, he made a bundle of his extra trousers, towels, books, reproductions, and even some of his food reserves. Then he hoisted the lot into a tree under a sign that said "Help yourself." Gritting his teeth, he poured the contents of two bottles of strong liniment on his back, and took to the river once more.

In time, he found himself gliding on a calm stretch of water, the roar of the last set of rapids before the mouth of the river fading fast behind him. The canoe drifted along without the help of a paddle, leaving Richard's hands free to sketch. The strange, dried-out dwarf trees that grew along the river's edge gave way to dense green forests, rising up along the canyons, towering over calm, clear pools of water. Then, as the Churchill neared Hudson Bay, marshes spread large at the mouth of the river. And at last, when the great waters of the bay opened up before his eyes, Slim felt the thrill of victory. Twenty-four hours later, he arrived at Churchill, having paddled the last leg of a marvellous, dangerous 1,600-kilometre adventure.

All of the accounts of Richard's voyage to the Hudson Bay depict him moving resolutely through the northern wilderness, drawn on and on by the allure of the unknown and the relentless desire to paint. Richard found inspiration all around him: in the compelling beauty of the rugged shoreline, in the weathered faces of the men and women in the missions and the Indian camps, in the starkness of the northern villages. He had to continually resist the temptation to stop and sketch: the coureur de bois felt the winter wind at his back, the artist watched with a wary eye as his supply of paint and canvas dwindled. When these supplies ran out, or when money was scarce and Révillon Frères refused to advance him credit, Richard sketched on pieces of brown wrapping paper or flattened cardboard boxes. In many cases, these rudimentary canvases were covered with studies of trappers, prospectors, canoes, and dogs, both on the back and on the front. His existence as an artist, as well as a trapper in the wilds, depended upon his resourcefulness and his ability to improvise.

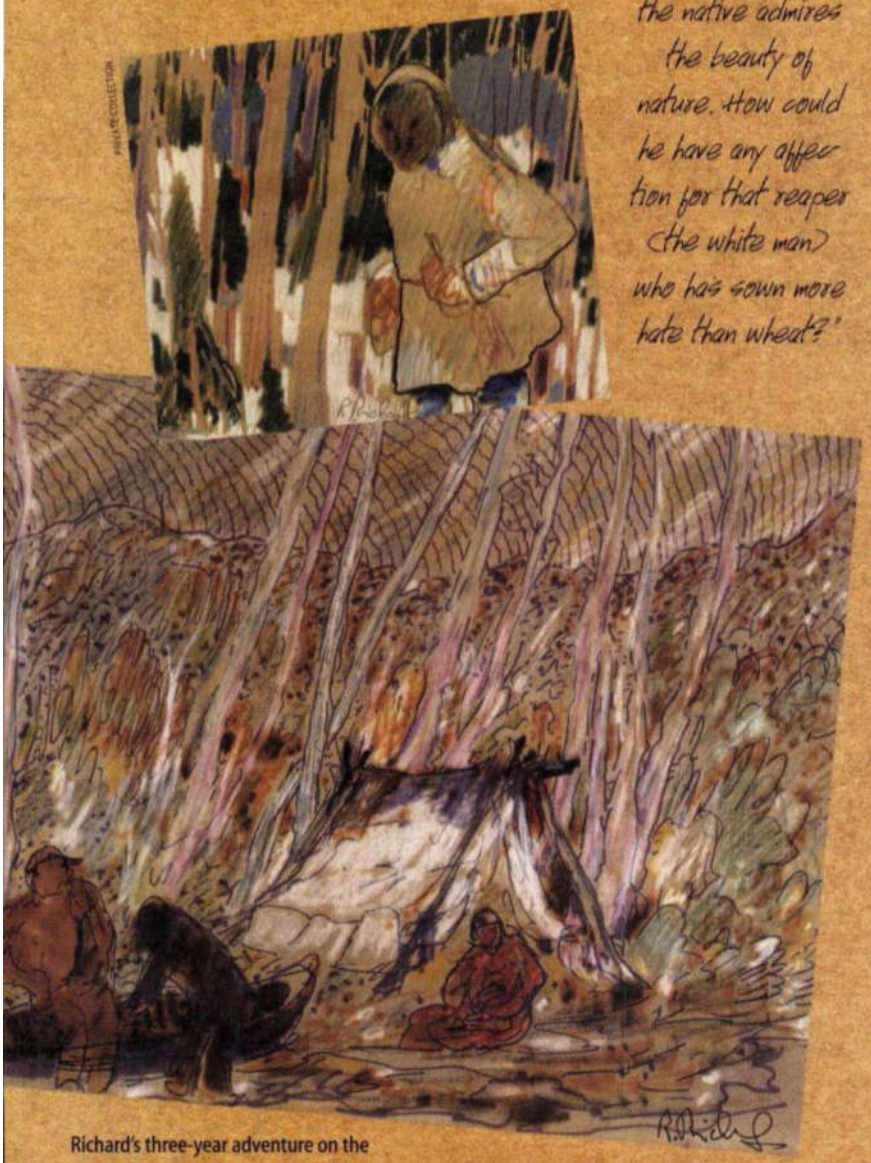
In spite of serious limitations and hardships, Richard's three-year adventure on the rivers of the North, through torrid summers and bleak unforgiving winters, yielded an impressive collection of sketches and drawings. It was a veritable odyssey, complete with fortuitous encounters, near-death experiences, a good amount of rapture and its attendant revelations: it became clear to Richard that he would have no choice but to spend the rest of his life bearing witness to the beauty and harmony of nature.

Following his adventure to the bay, Richard settled again in Cold Lake, where he lived for a few years in a small cottage lent to him by his mother; he spent all of his time there trapping and painting.

In 1936, Clarence Gagnon, who had returned to Canada, invited Richard to come to Montreal and devote himself exclusively to painting. It was only two years later, after working as a fire ranger in the Gaspé Peninsula, that Richard was able to join him there. Gagnon often spoke to Richard of the wild hinterland of the Charlevoix region of Québec. As a young man, Gagnon had visited Baie-Saint-Paul, which sits in a

Nord ouest du Manitoba, oil on wood board, c. 1932

"The other day, I had tears in my eyes as I listened to the cries of the loons and the waterhens. These cries are unique. For me, they give the impression of solitude. In the midst of solitude, the native admires the beauty of nature. How could he have any affection for that reaper (the white man) who has sown more hate than wheat?"



Richard's three-year adventure on the rivers of northern Canada in the 1930s resonated through his art for the rest of his life. The depiction of the native woman (top), drawn in coloured pencil on brown wrapping paper, is from 1935. The drawing of an encampment (bottom), done on sketch paper in coloured pencil and felt marker, was made from a memory of the same trip sometime in the late 1970s.

valley at the mouth of the Rivière du Gouffre in Charlevoix, and had been deeply impressed by the exceptional light and landscape of the region. He returned many times to Charlevoix, even during the twelve years he lived in Paris, travelling to the hinterland to sketch and paint. Inspired by Gagnon's passion for the place, Richard visited Baie-Saint-Paul in 1940 and, like many artists before him, was captivated by the rugged beauty of the landscape. He stayed on, boarding with friends of Clarence Gagnon, the Cimon family, who soon adopted him as one of their own. In the fall of 1942, Richard, forty-seven years old, married Blanche Cimon and settled definitively in Baie-Saint-Paul, where he lived and painted until his death in 1982. His love of travel and of the silence and solitude of wide open spaces took him on sketching expeditions to the back country of Charlevoix, to the North, all the way to Ungava. These forays into the hinterland produced paintings and drawings that had immediate and visceral appeal for the public: in twenty-five years, René Richard's work was exhibited in forty-five shows. Today, his paintings hang in major art galleries throughout the country. The one-hundred-year-old ancestral home of the Cimons, in which Richard and his wife lived for forty years, is now a gallery. Here visitors can view the artist's drawings and paintings as well as those of some of his friends, including Clarence Gagnon and A.Y. Jackson – artists who, like Richard, were passionate about this country's savage grandeur.

Charlevoix was the home of many writers and artists, among them the well-known Gabrielle Roy, who spent many hours listening to Richard's account of his adventures in the North. The novel *La montagne secrète*, which Roy dedicated to Richard, describes the spiritual journey of the artist who devotes his life to nature and to art. In René Richard, "artist, trapper, devotee of the great North," this ideal found its most authentic expression. ◘

Simone Chaput is a teacher of literature and language and the author of several novels. She lives in Winnipeg.

Reviews

Featured Books

■ **Voice of the Vanishing Minority: Robert Sellar and the Huntingdon *Gleaner*, 1863–1919**
By Robert Hill
McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998
378 pp., $49.50 hardcover

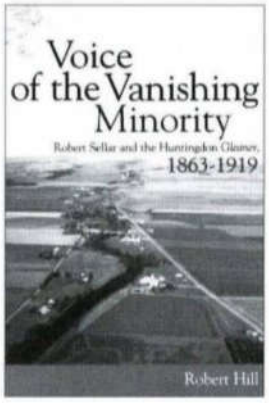
■ **The Gaullist Attack on Canada, 1967–1997**
By J.F. Bosher
McGill-Queen's University Press, 1998
332 pp., $32.95 hardcover

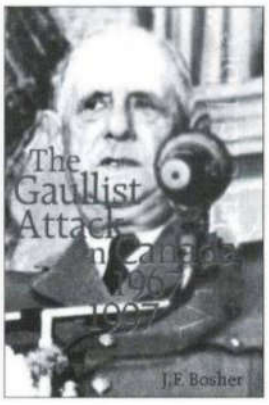
■ **The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls**
By Karen Dubinsky
Between the Lines, Toronto, 1999
290 pp., $29.95

The Plot Thickens

Although these books deal with different times and very different casts of characters, they are both concerned with conspiratorial plots focused upon Quebec. In Robert Hill's book, ***Voice of the Vanishing Minority***, the conspirators are the French-Catholic clergy who, with the complicity of various political leaders, encouraged the exodus of English speakers from rural Quebec in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. J.F. Bosher's conspirators in ***The Gaullist Attack on Canada, 1967–1997*** are, as the title suggests, Gaullists, a collection of late-twentieth-century individuals from France, inspired by the efforts of Charles de Gaulle, and prepared to promote Quebec's sovereignty through whatever means possible. In describing these conspiracies, however, both Hill and Bosher seek to give them a certain credibility, and to some degree they succeed since these books are well written and reflect considerable research.

Hill's book deals more broadly with the career of Robert Sellar, who spent most of his life as the editor of the Huntingdon *Gleaner*. From his perspective in rural, southwestern Quebec, Sellar saw the gradual decline of the region's English-speaking and Protestant population, a process that he largely attributed to the ability of the French-Catholic clergy to take advantage of various laws to encourage Protestants to leave the province. Hill portrays Sellar as someone who opposed neither Catholics nor francophones as individuals but rather as a nineteenth-century liberal who rejected the privileging of a religious institution by the state. Sellar's liberalism was similarly evident in his lifelong support for free trade and his opposition to the National Policy of the Conservative Party, which established high tariffs to protect Canadian manufacturers.





Bosher's conspirators are Frenchmen interested in restoring the imperial grandeur of France by encouraging the sovereignty of Quebec. While Bosher also points to the efforts of Gaullists to foment trouble in such far-flung parts of "la francophonie" as Acadia, Wallonia, and Africa, he concentrates on the existence of a group of individuals, described collectively as the "Quebec mafia" who, largely under the cover of diplomatic status, were prepared to engage in activities ranging from the support of violence to the public snubbing of Canadian government officials. Just as Hill in his narrative faults the clergy who were aided by government officials too reluctant to see a conspiracy for what it was, so too does Bosher heap blame on successive Canadian governments, which since the 1960s have been unwilling to offend the French. In fact, it is clear that Bosher set out to write the book to make Canadians aware of the challenges from France that threaten the country. Hill's book has a similar contemporary edge since he concludes with explicit reference to current affairs in Quebec, arguing that the same unwillingness to take on the nationalists that existed in Sellar's time still exists today.

In the final analysis, Hill and Bosher have relatively little evidence to support their claims about conspiracies past and present. Although Hill admits that the "most serious flaw in Sellar's case was his inability to ever catch [the clergy] doing anything illegal or even remotely wrong," he dismisses all historians who have doubted Sellar's claims. Bosher is similarly willing to accept circum-

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stantial evidence as proof. Typical is his groundless claim that there was some significance in the arrival of one French agent in Quebec at roughly the same time that the FLQ began its bombing campaign in the early 1960s.

In addition to this tendency to give credibility to dubious evidence, both authors also show an occasional carelessness in explaining certain issues. Hill, for instance, has difficulty in distinguishing between "English-speaking Lower Canada" and "the English-Protestant minority of Lower Canada." Much like Sellar, Hill marginalizes Irish Catholics, who constituted a substantial element of the linguistic minority at the time. Bosher, for his part, apparently accepts the view of one observer who found that "an overwhelming majority of French Canadians in Quebec City, and Montreal even more, were Vichyite supporters to the core." While there was sympathy for Vichy in Quebec during World War II, there is no basis for seeing this as having been the dominant view.

These are both very interesting books, written by authors who know how to tell a good story and who have marshalled a certain amount of evidence. Unfortunately, they are too prone to accept the existence of the conspiracies that they describe so well.

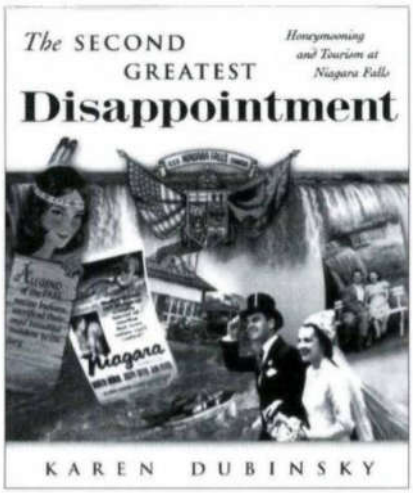
Reviewed by **Ronald Rudin**, a professor of history at Concordia University, Montreal.

Straightsville

The Second Greatest Disappointment: Honeymooning and Tourism at Niagara Falls is a fun smart book about two generally pleasurable topics set in a spectacular and sometimes outrageous location. But according to historian Karen Dubinsky, both honeymoons and tourism also need to be taken seriously and understood historically. The book's title is taken from a paraphrased quip by one of the nineteenth century's most famous homosexuals, Oscar Wilde, who suggested that the view of the waterfall "must be the second greatest disappointment of American married life." It sets the tone for a book that critically examines two institutions of modern life usually taken for granted. Despite the critical approach, it is clear that Dubinsky has a great deal of real affection for Niagara Falls and one of the unintended effects of the book on this reader was a desire for a return visit.

The history of sexuality is relatively recent ground for Canadian historians and much of the scholarship produced so far has focused on homosexuality. Dubinsky, however, is interested in heterosexuality – the most common and therefore "normal" form of sexual expression. She goes about convincing her readers that no more than "gender" should be code for female or "race" a code for nonwhite, sexuality does not just refer to homosexuals. Rather, heterosexuals also have a sexual identity that is both shaped and expressed in a historically specific manner. The particular expression of heterosexual culture that Dubinsky examines is the honeymoon. The author argues that honeymoons are not "natural," but are performed according to a script that reflects specific historical moments. A honeymoon in the late nineteenth century did not look or mean the same as one in the interwar years or one in the postwar travel boom. Honeymoons moved from valuing privacy and discretion to an explicit celebration – complete with flowers, cocktails, and special honeymoon suites – of the legitimate sexual initiation that accompanied married life.

Moreover, by the postwar period popular culture had transformed the honeymoon into a code for sex – the mention of honeymoon or Niagara Falls could evoke a snicker. Just as the honeymoon changed so did the assumed sexual behaviour of the bride and groom. The honeymoon couple was transformed from the groom as sex-starved brute, who must slowly initiate his asexual bride, to willing and enthusiastic partners who equally enjoyed sex (although the male remained firmly in charge). Dubinsky enters the generally private world of the honeymoon by examining jokes, movies, tourist literature, sex and marriage manuals, literary



sources, and oral interviews to uncover the imaginary geography of the place that has led many people to link Niagara Falls and sex.

What is particularly exciting about this book in the broader context in which Dubinsky places her history of honeymoons at Niagara Falls. In the

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Did the twentieth century really belong to Canada? It's all a matter of perspective.

first place, she sees honeymoons as a particular form of tourism. In the second place, she explores Niagara Falls beyond its tourist image and uncovers a vibrant community marked by conflict. The clash (and competition) of the Canadian-American border, the history of racism directed against black, native, and Jewish entrepreneurs, tourists, and workers, the Niagara Parks Commission and its history of political patronage, and the community's industrial heritage through factories such as Shredded Wheat are all part of the complex story. Although much of the book is interested in the meaning of the honeymoon, sexuality, and the imaginary geography of Niagara Falls, Dubinsky never forgets the reality of how people actually worked, loved, and lived.

The book is characterized by wonderful illustrations, cartoons, and tourism memorabilia and a lively, amusing, and often personal style firmly grounded in current trends within international scholarship. It is proof that academic historians can write sophisticated and engaging books for a wide general audience. *The Second Greatest Disappointment* is an excellent introduction to the history of sexuality and will challenge those already working in the field to think more broadly about the context of their work. Not everyone will be convinced by every argument put forward in this stimulating book, but like the best kind of holiday the book offers a fine balance of entertainment and education.

Reviewed by **Suzanne Morton**, a professor of history at Dalhousie University, Halifax.

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CHRIS RAIBLE

Booknotes

Since the first broadside was pulled off a flat-bed press in Halifax in 1751, printed documents have been central to Canadian history. In the last half of the eighteenth century hundreds upon hundreds of items were published: proclamations, notices, sermons, legislative journals, pamphlets, funeral letters, almanacs, and much much more. Researchers may now rejoice in an extraordinarily useful pair of volumes. One is Marie Tremaine's bibliography of Canadian imprints, the product of her lifetime of searching through libraries and archives in Canada and elsewhere. First published half a century ago and long out of print, her work has just been reissued, along with a companion volume. Compiled by Patricia Fleming and Sandra Alston, it not only extensively updates and corrects the information on each of Tremaine's 1,204 listed imprints (plus 25 different newspapers), it adds hundreds more that have been located since. All are described in detail, along with helpful historical notes, and the whole compilation is extensively indexed. There is also a fascinating appendix: a Quebec printing shop's complete financial record for printing of books, pamphlets, and single sheets. These two volumes are absolutely essential to any serious research library, even if their price may put them beyond the reach of most private collections.

The early nineteenth century is the focus of a new anthology of primary documents – more accurately, of extracts – culled from both published and nonpublished sources. Quotations from the letters and diaries of early immigrants to (what is now) Ontario are organized by subject rather than by source. The book is a composite, bringing together the common personal experiences of those we now romantically call "pioneers." Chapters trace the stages each family went through: preparing for the long journey, crossing the ocean with its storms and shipwrecks, arriving in Quebec and Montreal, travelling up the St. Lawrence, securing and clearing land, building a house or shelter, and living in new ways in this new world. Each individual quotation is each fairly brief, but the composite picture is very full indeed. It is, however, somewhat blurred by this blending of many stories into one. Despite their similarities, our ancestors did not all endure the same troubles or find the same joys.

Journals also provide the text for two other books, each very focused in its scope. One presents a selection of the personal records of David Thompson as he explored the Columbia River basin on behalf of the North West Company early in the last century. His own words chronicle his travels day by day. Each entry is concise, almost cryptic, yet because it is so specific, it is all the more real: "Oct [15 1808] Saturday – A Morng of very heavy Snow. The Seateaux having killed 6 Red Deer brought the Meat of 2 good Does to the Canoes, & at Noon the Weather becoming moderate they went off and held on 'till past [sun] set, when they put up 3 points below Jaco's Brook. Very cold Night & heavy Showers of Snow

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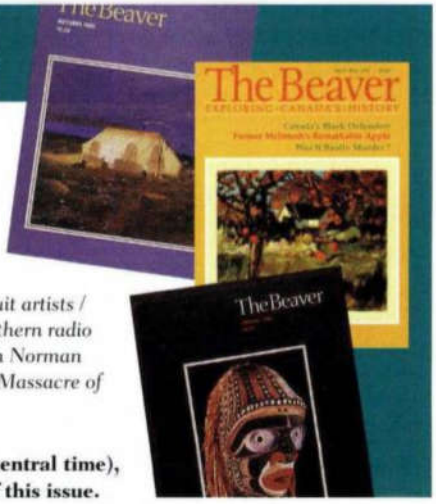

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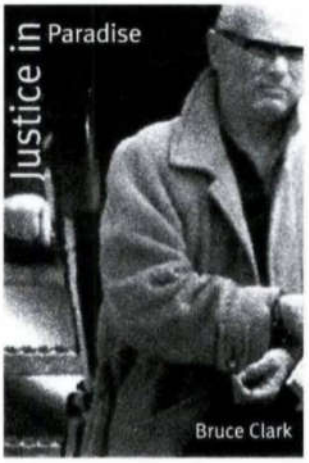

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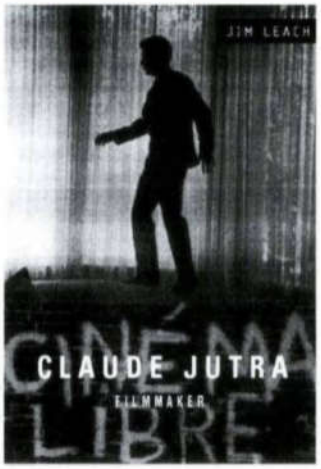

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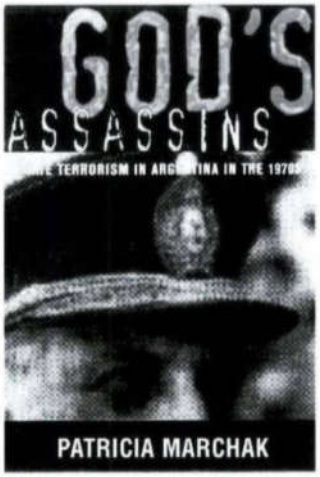

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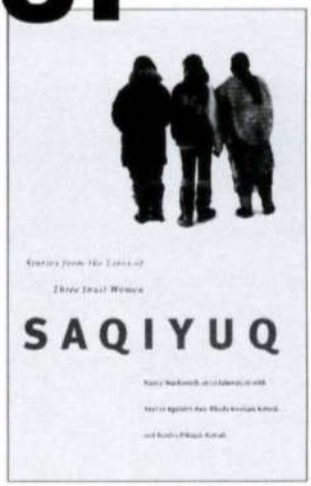
us.

Three generations of Inuit women share their sometimes disturbing stories about life in the Arctic from igloos to e-mail.



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all the afternoon – Snow near Knee deep." Half the book is comprised of the editor's explanatory notes, most helpful to the modern reader. Also included are a number of Thompson's own hand-drawn maps.

The other volume publishes the journals not of a person, but of a place: Fort Langley. The fort was established by the Hudson's Bay Company in 1827 as the first permanent post on the coast of British Columbia. One of the tasks of the factor in charge was to keep a daily record of what went on at the post. Some entries are a single sentence, others run several pages. One example: "Sunday 16th [August, 1829]. No Holiday – all hands about the Salmon – Traded and cured upwards of a thousand Salmon. One of the wives of one of our Quaitline Chiefs hung herself last night after a quarrel with her husband – She was a young widow, the wife of the Whoomes Chief to whom mention is made in an other place – It may lead to quarrels." The journals tell the cumulative tale of one fur trade fort, its trials and troubles, its activities and accomplishments. This book also has extensive notes and other interpretive material.

A much more modern work (and easier reading by far) publishes the memoirs of a much admired Canadian historian, Kenneth McNaught. A pacifist and a socialist, but not an ideologue, McNaught could both criticize and maintain cordial relations with his fellows – historians like Donald Creighton, Frank Underhill, W.L. Morton, and Arthur Lower. Perhaps McNaught's greatest trial came when he was caught up in controversies at Winnipeg's United College in the 1950s. A United professor, Harry Crowe, was summarily dismissed on the basis of a stolen private personal letter containing comments critical of the college's administration. McNaught defended Crowe and, in the name of academic freedom, rallied the support of colleagues across the country. McNaught quietly chronicles the case and the national debate that ensued, but his own righteous outrage is clearly evident. The publication of these memoirs two years after the author's death testifies to how warmly he is remembered.

And speaking of Winnipeg, one more book demands attention. As a reviewer, each year I encounter dozens of books on Canadian local history. Each traces something of the story of its community, be it a village like Creemore where I live, or a city like Winnipeg I hardly know (I've been there but twice). Never have I seen a local history volume that delighted me more than *Winnipeg: Heart of the Continent*. The saga of the city is clearly chronicled in the vigorous style familiar to many *Beaver* readers – author Christopher Dafoe is a former editor. Brief sidebar stories focus on individuals and institutions important to the city's development. A wonderful array of archival images adorn the pages. Even the chapter describing each of the book's corporate sponsors makes interesting reading.

And Taylor George's design deserves especial praise. It is lovely to look at, lively to read.

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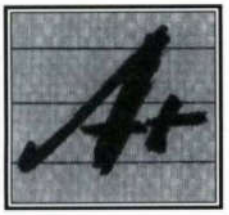

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Canada's National History Society / Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History: 1998–1999 Honoree and Finalists

Alan Skeoch (left) receiving his award from the Right Honourable Romeo LeBlanc.

The Governor General's Award for Excellence in Teaching Canadian History was established by the Society in 1995 to recognize the best history teachers in the country. The program is sponsored by the Hudson's Bay History Foundation, Bell Canada, and Investors Group, whose support is gratefully acknowledged.

Honoree

Alan Skeoch (Forest Hill Collegiate, Toronto, ON) came out of retirement to teach high school history to a group of inner-city teenagers, and students and colleagues alike are delighted that he did. Al involved his students in projects as diverse as the Toronto District School Board millennium project, peacekeepers dialogue, folk art presentations, and research projects. A prolific writer, he has produced several history texts, workshop materials, and historical videos. He has worked as a CBC Radio Noon resident historian, presenting the artifacts and social realities of rural life. Al is the winner of the Marshall McLuhan Outstanding Teacher Award for Communication as well as the Paul Harris Fellow Award.

Finalists

Phyllis Ray (Zado) Belliveau (George Lee School, Regina, SK) uses her love of history as the central theme for the integrated curriculum she developed and uses in her grade four and five classroom. Inspired by a trip to a paleontology excavation, Phyllis starts her history courses at the geologic beginnings of Saskatchewan with the Big Bang and ends at the present. Fossil digs, tours of museums and historical sites, and dramatic sketches in period costume captivate her students, allowing them to gain an appreciation for history.

Paul Bennett (Lower Canada College, Montreal, QC) has instilled in his students a passion for Canada's history and a commitment to playing a role in shaping Canada's future. Paul has inspired both his students and colleagues to embark on current affairs and Canadian history initiatives at the senior and intermediate levels. Highlights include the Destiny/*Destin* Canada Committee; a national student forum and constituent assembly on Canada's future; a national student forum on Quebec-Canada relations in 1994; two referendum observer missions to Quebec; and Destiny Quebec 1999, a forum for Quebec youth on their province's future.

Nick Brune (Iroquois Ridge High, Oakville, ON), one colleague observed, is both a gifted pedagogue as well as historian. For the past seven years, Nick has been the teacher on the award-winning CBC-TV educational video project called *News in Review*. This program is viewed by over two million students and has covered over two hundred stories set within a historical context. Nick is also the coauthor of a history textbook.

Sylvain Christin (Collège Jean-Etudes, Montréal, QC) assigns four projects each year to stimulate and change his students' perceptions of history. The first project presents a First Nations Community; the second involves time travel to New France; the third is a promotional brochure for a local museum; and the final project is the creation of telegraphic messages and an editorial. Perhaps his most noteworthy achievement is the *Semaine de l'histoire*, featuring a parliamentary debate simulation, an address by the lieutenant governor of Quebec, and film and exhibits by local museums and agencies.

Laurie Collins and Suzanne Louttit (St. Augustine Community School, Regina, SK) have developed *Moments from Canadian History, Part I & II*, in which students research and create vignettes of noteworthy figures in Canadian history similar to the CRB Foundation's *Heritage Minutes*. Part III, recently completed, focuses on eras in Canadian history rather than on heroes. Laurie and Suzanne presented their student video project at the Giving the Past a Future Conference in Montreal in 1999, and at three Canadian heritage summer institutes. The vignettes have also been posted on the CRB heritage project website.

Paul Delaney (Victoria Harbour Elementary School, Victoria Harbour, ON), in trying to find ways to share his love for Canada with his students, has developed a purposeful student government based on the Canadian model, with a prime minister, cabinet, speaker, council, senate, and constitution. A former director and secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, Paul is currently involved with Coldwater Canadiana Museum, the Canadian Canoe Museum in Peterborough, and the Black History Museum in Collingwood. Paul was a recipient of the TVOntario Award of Excellence for 1999.

Herns Pierre-Jérôme (Lawrence Park Collegiate, Toronto, ON), is head of French immersion and a master teacher whose rigorous, formal approach to pedagogy has gained him respect from students, parents, and peers for thirty-one years. His learning activities centre around five skills: listening, speaking, reading, writing, and thinking. In a time when traditional, formal approaches to learning are perceived as backward and uninspiring, Herns succeeds in motivating his students to achieve academic excellence.

Simon Jeynes (Lucy Baker School, Warburg, AB) opened the Lucy Baker School for girls in 1993, creating a curriculum responsive to female interests and concerns and recognizing past traditions and gender as an issue in history. Like the history curriculum project Simon developed

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at the St. John's School of Alberta in 1984 in response to a lack of history knowledge among students, the curriculum at Lucy Baker School integrates outdoor activities with literature and traditional historical research. The curriculum includes classes that involve girls in their own stories and in the Canadian experience.

Jean MacDonald (Eskasoni Elementary Junior School, Eskasoni, NS) teaches at a Micmac First Nation school, creatively using community resources, elders, and spiritual leaders to integrate the rich Micmac culture into her program. Jean engages her students in inquiry-based education, continually introducing controversial regional- and community-based issues to her students. Through creative assignments such as response essays, art work, poetry, and crafts, she manages to engage a diverse range of students.

Garfield Newman (Vaughan Secondary School, Thornhill, ON) has taught courses on Canadian studies to high school students for fifteen years, integrating a variety of teaching approaches and selections of music, art, and literature. Garfield has written a Canadian history textbook and teacher's resource, and is currently rewriting the Canadian history course to reflect the changes to Ontario's curriculum that will take place next fall.

Lloyd Soloman (Souris Regional High School, Souris, PE) uses local history sources such as the provincial archives to teach historiography. Students learn about their past by manipulating, investigating, and interpreting these sources. Lloyd's student activities include trips to the salt marshes and dikes of the Acadians, prehistoric Indian burial sites, and farm dumps to investigate pioneer life. He has also brought a "mini-archive" to the school library for the community to use.

1999 Berton Award Announced

Writer and journalist Peter C. Newman, author of more than twenty books chronicling Canadian business and political power, has been selected to receive the 1999 Pierre Berton Award for distinguished achievement in popularizing Canadian history. The award will be presented to Newman at a dinner in Toronto, February 19, 2000.

The sixth recipient of the award since its inception in 1994, Newman began his writing career with the *Financial Post* in 1953 and later worked for the *Toronto Star* and for *Maclean's*, where he was editor-in-chief from 1971 to 1982. His 1963 chronicle of the Diefenbaker years, *Renegade in Power*, changed political writing in Canada, and became a runaway bestseller. Subsequent popular works, notably *The Canadian Establishment* and *Titans*, have examined the lives of those who wield financial power in Canada. Newman is also well-known for his three-volume history of the Hudson's Bay Company published between 1985 and 1991.

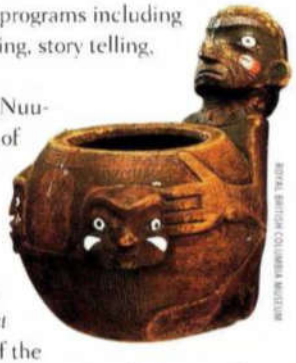
In 1994 the Society established the Pierre Berton Award to recognize individuals or institutions that have made outstanding contributions to popularizing Canadian history. Pierre Berton was the first recipient of the award and agreed to have the award named after him. Other recipients include the late James H. Gray of Calgary, Jacques Lacoursière of Quebec City, the CRB Foundation of Montreal, and CBC Toronto radio columnist Bob Johnstone.

Nominations for the 2000 competition are now being accepted. The closing date is May 26, 2000.

Museum Profile

This fall, winter, and spring, Victoria presents a unique travel opportunity. There's the city's mild climate. And, until May 31, there will be an historic, living Nuu-chah-nulth cultural exhibit, with programming that includes the songs, dances, artistry, and cuisine of this important West Coast First Nation.

The focus for this cultural event is the **Royal British Columbia Museum** on the city's Inner Harbour. An exhibition entitled OUT OF THE MIST: HUUPUKWANUM•TUPAAT: TREASURES OF THE NUU-CHAH-NULTH CHIEFS features 241 artifacts, some of which have never been seen outside their own immediate communities and families. Theme weekends will see members of the Nuu-chah-nulth First Nation present special programs including singing, dancing, canoe making, story telling, and basket weaving.



From ancient times, the Nuu-chah-nulth of the west coast of Vancouver Island have preserved a culture rich in artistry, ceremony, and spirituality linked closely to their reverence for sea, land, and creatures. *Out of the Mist* portrays the cultural legacy of the Nuu-chah-nulth nation and presents its reflections in the healthy, vibrant, living culture of the Nuu-chah-nulth of today.

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- McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal
- Pointe à Callière, Musée d'archéologie et d'histoire de Montréal
- Canadian Museum of Civilization, Hull, QC
- New Brunswick Museum, Saint John
- Yarmouth County Museum, Yarmouth, NS

A discount of at least 10 percent on regular admission will be given upon presentation of your membership card. Some restrictions may apply. All subscribers to the *Beaver* are automatically members of the Society.

CHRISTOPHER **Moore**

Barry Broadfoot *Talking*

I only know two books of Canadian history where the stories are so moving that they bring me to the verge of tears whenever I browse in them: Ten Lost Years, *the oral history of the Depression, and* Six War Years, *the oral history of the Second World War, both by Barry Broadfoot. Recently I visited Barry Broadfoot in Nanaimo, B.C., and listened as he talked about how those two extraordinary works came to be twenty-five years ago.*

"I was beginning to wonder ..."

I was city editor of the *Vancouver Sun*, features editor, literary editor. I did five or six of those jobs, because the *Sun* had a crazed managing editor named Bill Galt – everyone was crazy on the *Vancouver Sun* at that time, it was unlike any newspaper in Canada. At the end I did three or four years as a feature writer. But something was unraveling inside me, the dedication I'd had towards being a newspaper man. I began to see the hypocrisy of it, the shallowness of it, the futility of it really. I mean, every day was another day you wrapped the garbage in the previous day's *Vancouver Sun*.

One day – it was midspring – I came in to work and picked up my mail and went to my desk, and as I recall it now, something just hit me like that, and I got up and I walked over to Bill Galt's office, and I said, "Bill, I've had it." And Bill sort of looked at me and he said, "I was beginning to wonder when you would say that." So I walked back to my desk, and I started to clean out my desk. And when I finished, what I had to take out after twenty-five years of newspapering, it wouldn't fill a shoebox.

So I walked out, didn't say good-bye to anyone, got in my car, drove home, and said to my wife, who's my ex-wife now but still a very good friend, "I've had it." And she looked at me and said, "I was beginning to wonder when you would say that."

"In the back of my head was the idea ..."

I had no money, none at all, no pensions – I didn't believe in pensions – and I had no money. I had made a very good salary, but we lived from day to day. We had a small farm out in the Fraser Valley. I thought I'd sell it for $20,000 if anyone was crazy enough to pay that, and someone bought it just like that.

I was so broke, travelling across the country, that I kept reusing my tapes. I didn't have the money to buy new tapes for every taping. When I finished the tape, I just erased it ... I wasn't thinking too much of posterity at that time.

I had an old car and I started out. I actually had no idea what form the book would take. I had really nothing. In the back in my head was the idea that nobody had ever written the real story of the Great Depression. I had a tape recorder that I had used in editorial work, and I really just hit the road.

"Everybody had a story ..."

I never had to explain what I was doing. All I had to say was, "I'm doing research on a book on the Great Depression." And everybody had their own memories. In a beer parlour, I'd say, "Do you know anybody who was in the Depression, who talks about the Depression?" Or I'd just say, "Tough times here in the thirties, eh?" And everybody had a story.

The absolute clarity of memory

astonished me. I mean, they could remember to a penny what they paid for some item or some piece of equipment or clothing or food. It was etched, it was burned in.

"Just a friendly guy ..."

I was always just a friendly guy, a gregarious guy. I could talk to anybody and there was no reticence about me. Most people realized, well here's a guy doing something I'm interested in, he's interested, and that was it. Because I was certainly enthusiastic.

I could tell within three or five minutes of beginning an interview if it was going to be a dud. But I would never cut anyone off in less than half an hour. I would always be polite, and people understood that. You owed that to the people you dealt with. And I think that was one of the successes of all my books.

"Catch as catch can all the way ..."

I was so broke, travelling across the country, that I kept reusing my tapes. I didn't have the money to buy new tapes for every taping. When I finished the tape, I just erased it—"Oh I don't need this." I wasn't thinking too much of posterity at that time. So I have nothing at all from *Ten Lost Years* or *Six War Years*.

Some times you couldn't tape. You'd pick up a hitchhiker and you're rolling down the road and he'd be talking to you. Or you would be sitting around in a hotel or a beer parlour or something, you might not have your tape recorder with you. I'd go back to my place, and I would try and recall what you said, and I would slant it whatever way I wanted, you know, halfway through I'd use that, or from the start. I'd use to the midpoint. So it was catch as catch can all the way, it was certainly done by the seat of the pants.

"There was no manuscript ..."

I did the interviews from Vancouver as far as Toronto, maybe twenty in that time, and I phoned a friend who is still a very good friend, Doug Gibson, who was an editor at Doubleday at that time. Doug took me to lunch that day, and I told him about it. I wasn't even thinking of Doug as the publisher. He said, "What have you got to show?" and I said, "I've sent all my stuff back, but I have duplicates," and I gave them to him, and he showed them to the head of Doubleday all in one day, and he read it and he said, "Grab that guy." But the funny thing was, there was no manuscript. Nothing even in my head, just this idea, and fifteen, say twenty, short interviews of two or three pages.

"Right between the eyes ..."

Ten Lost Years, it's interesting how I got the title. I got it from somebody, and I don't know who he was. I just know he was somewhere in Alberta, some old farmer that I was talking to, and he just said, "Those were ten lost years." And being a reporter, being a writer, that came jumping out all over itself, hit me right between the eyes.

"What I was going to do for the rest of my life ..."

I did the Great Depression, and I wasn't planning to do another book. I thought I might go back into newspapering or I might do something else. But then with the outstanding success of *Ten Lost Years*, the second and third and the rest were much much easier. Because when I had finished the first one and it had gone to the publisher, when I started on the second, that was when I knew what I was going to do for the rest of my life.

"A badge of honour ..."

Oh yeah, they would break down and cry, and they would curse and they would swear. They were very genuine people. And even though I had been a reporter, a writer, for many years, I really gained a new respect, a different type of respect than just the newspaper respect. I began to respect them as real people. I gained a lot of respect for Canadians, because of their decency, their honesty, mostly their honesty in telling. Of course, they knew [the things they had done] forty years before were never going to catch up to them, and I never used names. But they were very honest, and I think that is a badge of honour.

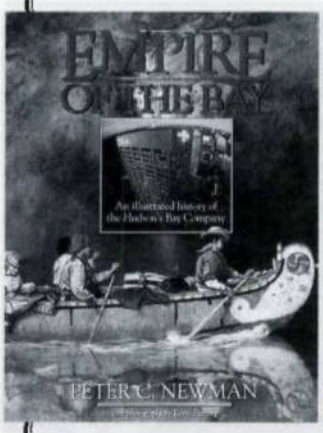
"They were not work ..."

They weren't work. They were not work. It was enjoyment, it was something I did well. It was something waiting, literally, to be picked up off the ground and put into my pocket. I'll tell you, they were just as natural to me as falling downstairs. I had no labour. I never sweated, I never thought about it. I just sat down and did it. I'd say the happiest years of my life were writing those books.

Ten Lost Years and *Six War Years* became two of the great success stories of Canadian publishing history. Twenty-five years later, both remain in print; a new edition of *Ten Lost Years* was published by McClelland & Stewart in 1997.

An Illustrated History *of the* Hudson's Bay Company

by Peter C. Newman



This is a lavishly illustrated history of the HBC from its founding as a fur trader in 1670 to the national retail giant it is today. Dozens of full-colour and black-and-white photos, plus sketches, drawings and maps complement the spirited text by Peter C. Newman, one of Canada's leading authors and journalists. 223 pp., index, bibliography, 7-page chronology of HBC history. 9" x 12" approx., cloth. *Original publisher's price: $45.*

***Sale price* $19.95**

To order use The Beaver Book Club form on page 12.

Album

Betty Mackie (nee Williams), who submitted this photograph to the *Beaver*, is a retired college teacher from Edmonton, currently living in Victoria. She points out that her father eventually regained his senses and returned to railway work in 1936 after three years of itinerant labour.

Boxing Day What was every little girl's heart's desire for Christmas in the 1930s? Nothing less than an Eaton Beauty doll, of course – twenty-one inches of feminine pulchritude in stuffed cotton and porcelain bisque. Seven-year-old Betty Williams (right) found hers dressed in blue organdy under the tree, Christmas Day, 1931. Her sister Audrey's was dressed in pink. On Boxing Day, they travelled from their parents' farm north of Vermillion, Alberta to visit a neighbour boy, proud possessor of a brand new sled, and had their picture snapped with their Christmas loot.

George Williams, Betty's and Audrey's father, was a bit of a dreamer. Born in Ontario, he had a secure job as an agent for the CPR at Rocky Mountain House in Alberta, but he fancied farming, and finally, by 1927, saved enough money to buy one. Then the Depression hit. Two years after this picture was taken, Betty found herself in town at her very first auction. The sound of the auctioneer fascinated her. She thought she was at another of the country fairs she loved so much, but then she saw her Eaton Beauty doll offered for bid along with the clothes her mother had made for it. Along, too, was the rest of the Williams's goods and chattels. The farm was lost for taxes. The doll was sold. ◘

Do you have an old photograph that captures a moment, important or ordinary, in our country's history? If you would like to submit it for possible publication, have it copied at your local photo shop (please don't send priceless originals) and send it to: Album, c/o *The Beaver*, #478–167 Lombard Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3B 0T6. Include a brief description of the photo, including its date and location. If possible, identify people in the photograph and provide further information about the event or situation illustrated. To have your copy returned, please include a stamped, self-addressed envelope.

THE 20TH CENTURY WAS SO REMARKABLE, WE'RE RUNNING IT AGAIN.

20TH CENTURY MONDAYS

9PM ET/PT

Every Monday night, revisit the people and events, the heroes and icons, the discoveries and disclosures, that have shaped your century.

HISTORY TELEVISION

HISTORY™ TELEVISION

EASTERN	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY	SATURDAY	SUNDAY
8:00 AM	THE CAMPBELLS					LEGENDS & UNSUNG HEROES	LEGENDS & UNSUNG HEROES
8:30 AM	OLYMPICA					ORIGINS	ORIGINS
9:00 AM	SKETCHES OF OUR TOWN					CANADIAN HISTORY	THE 20TH CENTURY
9:30 AM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY (SEASON 2)						
10:00 AM	FASHION QUEST						
10:30 AM	HISTORYLANDS						
11:00 AM	THE UNTOUCHABLES					WORLDS BEST DOCUMENTARIES	WORLDS BEST MINI-SERIES
11:30 AM							
12:00 PM	RAT PATROL						
12:30 PM	GREAT MYSTERIES AND MYTHS						
1:00 PM	HISTORY ON FILM					WEEKEND SPECIAL	WEEKEND SPECIAL
1:30 PM							
2:00 PM						WESTERN MATINEE	HISTORY ON FILM
2:30 PM							
3:00 PM							
3:30 PM	FASHION QUEST						
4:00 PM	DESTINATION: HISTORY						
4:30 PM						PROFILES	PROFILES
5:00 PM	THE UNTOUCHABLES					ANCIENT HISTORY	HISTORY OF WAR
5:30 PM							
6:00 PM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY (SEASON 1)						
6:30 PM	FASHION QUEST						
7:00 PM	SPICES, WINES & MANSIONS					DRAMA SERIES	DRAMA SERIES
7:30 PM	HISTORYLANDS						
8:00 PM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY (SEASON 2)					WEEKEND SPECIAL	WEEKEND SPECIAL
8:30 PM	GREAT MYSTERIES AND MYTHS						
9:00 PM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAY	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
9:30 PM							
10:00 PM							
10:30 PM							
11:00 PM	TOUR OF DUTY						
11:30 PM					HISTORY BITES		
12:00 AM	20TH CENTURY MONDAYS	ANCIENT HISTORY TUESDAYS	CANADIAN HISTORY WEDNESDAYS	HISTORY OF WAR THURSDAY	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM	HISTORY ON FILM
12:30 AM							
1:00 AM							
1:30 AM							
2:00 AM	TOUR OF DUTY						
2:30 AM					HISTORY BITES		
3:00 AM	DESTINATION: HISTORY					WEEKEND SPECIAL	WEEKEND SPECIAL
3:30 AM							
4:00 AM	GREAT MYSTERIES AND MYTHS					DRAMA SERIES	DRAMA SERIES
4:30 AM	IT SEEMS LIKE YESTERDAY (SEASON 1)						
5:00 AM	HISTORYLANDS					ANCIENT HISTORY	LEGENDS & UNSUNG HEROES
5:30 AM	RAT PATROL						ORIGINS
6:00 AM	THE UNTOUCHABLES						CABLE IN THE CLASSROOM
6:30 AM							
7:00 AM	FRONT PAGE CHALLENGE					LEGENDS & UNSUNG HEROES	LEGENDS & UNSUNG HEROES
7:30 AM	THE WAY WE WERE					ORIGINS	ORIGINS

Program changes may occur.